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VOLUME IV

A PRESENT-DAY VIEW OF THE MISSION SAN XAVIER DEL BAC

KINO'S HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF PIMERÍA ALTA

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS OF CALIFORNIA, SONORA, AND ARIZONA, BY FATHER EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO, S.J., PIONEER MISSIONARY EXPLORER, CARTOGRAPHER, AND RANCHMAN

1683-1711

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HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, PH.D.

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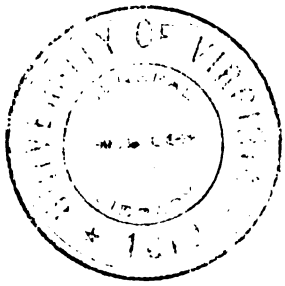
VOLUME II



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[d] This chapter and the next are misnumbered in the manuscript.

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EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO.

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OF THE CELESTIAL FAVORS OF Jesus, Most Holy Mary, and the Most Glorious Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, Experienced in these New Conversions or New Philippines of this Unknown North America in the Years 1703 and 1704.

BOOK I, OF THE YEAR 1703. INCURSIONS OF THE HOSTILE APACHES INTO THE PROVINCE OF SONORA AND ITS FRONTIERS AND INTO THIS PIMERIA, WHICH DID NOT, HOWEVER, HINDER THE BUILDING OF ITS TWO NEW CHURCHES

CHAPTER I. OF THE ENEMIES WHO ARE ACCUSTOMED TO COMMIT MANY HOSTILITIES AND DO MUCH DAMAGE IN THIS PROVINCE AND ITS FRONTIERS, AND EVEN WITHIN THIS PIMERIA[1]

Every year, especially since the Jocomes, Janos, and Sumas revolted, there are regularly many thefts of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, and even murders of Christian Indians, Spaniards, soldiers, etc., particularly on the frontiers of this province of Sonora, but also on the frontiers of this Pimeria. And although for the prevention of so many and so grievous injuries there have been conceded and provided by his royal Majesty two presidios of fifty soldiers each, that of Janos, and the flying company and presidio of this province of Sonora, the enemies, the above-mentioned Hocomes, Janos, and Sumas, as well as the Apaches, etc., have been pushing and each year continue to push farther inland into the lands of the Christians, and into the province of Sonora and this Pimeria, there being no

[1] The Indian hostilities recounted in this book are not treated in detail elsewhere.

adequate check or resistance to so many robberies and murders as every year so grievously have been experienced since Captain Coro, of this Pimeria, as is mentioned in Part I, killed somewhat more than three hundred hostile Jocomes,[2] most of which tribe are enemies still at large.

On January 4, 1703, when these hostile Apaches had pushed in to San Ygnacio, a mission of the Pimeria, and carried off a drove of horses, Father Agustin de Campos, missionary of that district, wrote me the following:

> I have already written to your Reverence how I feel in regard to the report, therefore the number of fathers whom your Reverence must ask for is seven. And if your Reverence is rector (for in regard to that, without my wishing it the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, wrote me a very nice letter separating this rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores of Pimería, from the rectorate of San Francisco Xavier de Sonora,[3]) it will be easier in every way to bring this about and secure it, and I shall never refuse to obey your Reverence in whatever you may order me, but in any case, I am always your Reverence's servant, which experience would have shown many years ago if the Devil had not thrust in his tail, etc. They say that a mare belonging to the mayor domo here, one of the horses which the enemy carried off, has come back, and one of my horses, a colt, has returned also, etc. San Ygnacio, January 4, 1703. Your Reverence's obedient servant,
>
> AGUSTIN DE CAMPOS.

CHAPTER II. OF THE EXPEDITION OF THESE PIMAS AGAINST THE HOSTILE APACHES

Since the presidios were not helping as much as was desired in regard to the many invasions and hostilities,[4]

[2] This might imply that Coro's work was a cause of hostilities.

[3] The words in parenthesis are Kino's. His appointment is mentioned on page 40, *post*.

[4] The removal of Jironza de Cruzate was regretted by the missionaries of the Pimería Alta frontier.

robberies, and murders (for in regard to the matter many reports were sent to the Señor governor of the district and to his Excellency) which the hostile Apaches committed so frequently and every year, we in the West undertook to make an expedition with the Pimas to the district through which these hostile Apaches are accustomed to travel and come, for on many other occasions these Pimas have achieved fortunate successes and victories. On this point Father Agustin de Campos wrote me on January 28 from his mission of San Ygnacio the following:

> Negotiate, your Reverence, with the Sovaipuris children (they are the Pimas of the North) with regard to their making a campaign, conciliating them a little until the time arrives, when I promise to aid with twenty-five beeves, delivered at Guevavi, etc.

The lieutenant of this Pimeria, Captain Juan de Casaos, also wrote, on January 28, these words:

> God grant that we may succeed in catching these malevolent Apaches and give them a good chastising. To this end I shall attempt to secure some men from the West, and you, your Reverence, must attempt to secure those of the North, so that altogether they may accomplish something worth while.

And although I was very busy with the building of the two churches of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Santiago de Cocospora, the plan being to finish and dedicate them both at the end of this year of 1703, I notified Captain Coro and the Pima and Sovaipuris braves that they should make an expedition to the country through which the hostile Apaches travel and come, the result being that through some good victories by our Pimas the hostile Apaches were greatly restrained, and now molest us somewhat less frequently in this Pimeria.

CHAPTER III. OF THE HOSTILITIES, ROBBERIES, AND MURDERS WHICH THE ENEMIES COMMITTED THIS YEAR ON THE FRONTIER OF THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA

For many years the frontiers of the province of Sonora have been much infested by the enemy, and many times, although falsely, these damages which have been and are being committed by the Apaches, and at times by the Hocomes, have been charged to this Pimeria. This has been the sad reason why, by blaming the innocent, and always striking the shoe instead of the nail, the necessary punishment and correction of the culprits have been and are neglected, and they are thus left free to continue their hostilities.

On February 25 the neighboring deputy alcalde mayor of the Real de Bacanuchi, Captain Cristoval Granillo de Zalazar, wrote me the following:

> In regard to the enemy I have learned that they have run off horses from Oposura, and the mule drove of Juan Antonio de Tarasona, at Tonivavi. They also ran off the horse herd of the Morenos, but they went out and recovered them. They have made incursions everywhere. I received a letter from the Señor alcalde mayor, who tells me that he has written to the Señor governor of El Parral for the fifteen soldiers of this presidio who are in Taraumares to come to give him some aid, but I judge that things will be the same as ever. God grant that the Pimas may have good success in their expedition, for little help is to be expected from the captains, because some are lazy, and others engaged in litigation, thereby wasting time and the salary which they receive from the king. God help them and preserve your Reverence for me many years, etc.

On March 16 the father visitor, Antonio Leal, wrote me the following:

> I greatly appreciate the news and thank you for the map for the provincial. As to the news of the gathering of the Pimas and the death of two enemies, I have always expected from their expedition all good fortune and victory. Over here many

trails have come in. Near here they killed Manuel de Urquiso; I am just about to bury him. May God keep him in His holy glory. They left him stark naked, scalped him, shot him four times with arrows, wounded him several times with a lance, and killed his horse. They left the tree and bows, but carried off the skins and the iron portions of the saddle. God protect us and keep your Reverence for me. Sinoquipe, March 16, etc.

Thus far the father visitor. At the same time very near there, on the road to San Juan, these same enemies killed the son of Nicolas de la Crus, and in other places they killed others of Arispe. On March 20 Father Francisco Xavier de Mora wrote me these words: "Over here the incessant attacks and signs of the enemy still continue. Commend us to our Lord, your Reverence."

CHAPTER IV. OTHER HOSTILITIES OF THE FOREGOING ENEMIES, DRAWN FROM THE LETTERS OF THE CAPTAIN LIEUTENANT AND OF THE SEÑOR ALCALDE MAYOR

On February 28 of this year, 1703, the lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuchi, Captain Cristoval Granillo Salazar, wrote me the following:

I am greatly rejoiced at the friendly Pimas. God grant that they may be as successful as we all desire, in order that the enemy may be somewhat chastised, for they are very arrogant on account of the small effort made by our captains to punish them, and are now becoming so bold that there is no hope of help unless God, our Lord, provides it through our friends the Pimas. On February 22, two Indians of Chinapa having come to this valley with some letters, on their return to their pueblo the enemy sallied out upon them and killed one of them. The next day, when they came for the body, they again saw the enemies, who had not yet gone, but who now fled to the sierra. Moreover, I have learned for certain that in Nacosari they killed two other Indians, and that another came to the *real* wounded. Of all of these and many other things which are

happening little notice is taken and no remedy is provided. Poor we would like to do something but cannot for lack of equipment, etc. The captain of the presidio is lazy and the alférez is in prison, and because I reported these things to the Señor alcalde, he replied as follows:

"SEÑOR CAPTAIN CRISTOBAL GRANILLO DE SALAZAR, My dear Sir: I have just received your letter containing the sad news that the enemies had killed the Indian of Chinapa, and I am greatly grieved to see the inactivity of the soldiers of the presidio of this province, who neither go out on campaigns nor exert themselves at anything else, a cause sufficient to have led the enemies to hold a powerful gathering, of which Father Daniel Janusque [5] wrote me yesterday. They are assembled in the Sierra de Tonivavi in great numbers, well armed and provided with shields, and it is presumed that they are planning to devastate some pueblo of this district. For this reason I was compelled by the urgent necessity to despatch some men as an escort, which may find difficulty enough."

Also, Father Oracio Pollize wrote me that these enemies had mortally wounded two Indians of his district, and a few days before had murdered two other Christians between Oputo and Nacosari; but I consider it superfluous to make demands upon the captain of the presidio, for it all ends in meaningless arguments and replies, without his doing anything or fulfilling the obligations of his office, for if he would go out on a campaign the enemies could not hold such powerful gatherings. Be on your guard, your Reverence, and see to it that the citizens of your jurisdiction be on theirs. May God grant us a remedy, for we lack human aid.

Thus far the Señor alcalde mayor and the captain of the Real de Bacanuchi.

CHAPTER V. DANGERS OF THE PROVINCE, AND UNFORTUNATE DEATHS OF SOME SOLDIERS

On March 28 the Señor alcalde mayor, Juan Matheo Manxe, wrote me thus:

I am extremely busy, for I do not stay at home an hour, nor, on account of the repeated invasions of the multitude of enemies

[5] See volume i, 131, 139.

which infest this region, am I permitted to stay, for on the highways we have experienced misfortunes and many disasters and grievous murders at the hand of the enemies. This is the reason why I have been unable to go to that mission to kiss your Reverence's hand and to enjoy the usual favors which you show me, for my twelve horses are so exhausted and crippled from ascending and descending the rocky sierras that, in view of the dangers to which I expose myself, I fear that I shall perish at the hand of the enemies; for the soldiers neither go out on a campaign nor do anything else, a reason why the enemies will be sure to get possession of the whole province. Now, by dint of importations on requisition, I have obtained some soldiers to go up to the sierra which is between Oposura and Guasavas. Yesterday I came down from it, and today I am going up on the other side. Commend us to God, your Reverence, for good luck.

These are words from the letter which the Señor alcalde mayor wrote me. The Señor lieutenant, Cristoval Granillo de Salazar, on March 12 wrote me the following in regard to the unfortunate deaths of two other soldiers:

I have received your Reverence's letter and appreciate it greatly on account of the success of the friendly Pimas. May God grant them the same in future against our enemies, in order that there may be some degree of security. In this quarter everything is misfortune and failure. A squad of soldiers having gone to convoy a drove of cattle belonging to the captain of this presidio to Janos, on the return march, as they were coming from San Miguel de Bavispe, Sierra de Chiguicagui, two soldiers turned aside to get a young bull which they had left tired out in going; and while they were killing it the enemies sallied out upon them and killed them, their companions being unable to prevent it, because they were some distance behind and occupied with the pack train loaded with saltepetre, etc., while the two soldiers in question were without arms, since they left them on the horses, and the enemies took them. May God provide a remedy for so many misfortunes and bring harmony to this province, so that as Christian vassals of so Catholic a king we may rally to the defence of the territory of his

royal Majesty. I am sending the enclosed letter of the Señor alcalde mayor, who probably is still ignorant of these murders, that your Reverence may read it. The dead are Cristoval de Leon and Domingo, stepsons of Francisco Pacho.[6] May God keep them in His holy glory, and guard your Reverence for me. At the first opportunity I will report to the Señor alcalde mayor the good fortune of the friendly Pimas.

Thus far the Señor lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuche.

CHAPTER VI. NEW PRETENDED BUT FALSE RUMORS OF UPRISINGS OR REVOLTS OF THE PIMAS OF THE WEST, THAT IS, OF CAPTAIN SOBA

When all this Pimeria was very quiet and pacific, thanks be to the Lord, and asking for the fathers whom it needed, and those of us well disposed to new conversions were soliciting them, the common enemy and his followers and those little or ill affected to these new missions bruited it about that the Pima Indians of El Soba of the West and the Tepocas were planning to attack the Christian pueblos near the Opatas, in revenge for the murders which had been committed in Pimeria previous to the peace-agreements made on Santa Rosa Day eight years before, in 1695. But, as it was so false the whole thing only served to hinder and delay the eternal blessing of the salvation of these poor creatures, because those who for so long have been speaking ill of this Pimeria and of the new conversions in it and the other neighboring nations farther on have wished to be secure and serve their own ends. But the facts of the case are very well told by the religious pen of a missionary father in what he wrote me in the following letter:

The Indians of Tepoca and Cucurpe, as your Reverence may know, have spread the rumor that the Seris of Tepoca and the

[6] Pacheco?

Pimas of El Soba plan to attack the Spaniards of the nearby mines of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, and, later, the pueblos of Cucurpe and Toape, because of the murders committed by the soldiers eight years ago when those disturbances took place. And the scatterers of such a lie do not consider that the Tepoca Seris are those who, with the soldiers, committed the murders among the Pimas. The lieutenant here has received the letter in regard to this matter, and in other places they have received other reports of this nonsense; but the lieutenant must already have been undeceived and have said to the Spanish miners that they are secure from the Cabotcas and the rest of the Pimas, but not so of the Tepocas and Egadeves,[1] for they are made to kill friendly Indians, their relatives, and then throw the blame on others, while they fulfill their intent, etc.

Thus far the pen of this lover of truth.

CHAPTER VII. WHILE WITH ALL HAPPINESS WE PIMAS ARE BUILDING CHURCHES, THEY WRONGLY AND WITH GREAT HINDRANCE TO THE SERVICE OF GOD AND THE KING CHARGE US WITH VARIOUS HOSTILITIES, MURDERS, AND THEFTS

In this month of March two letters are written to me in which, with the celestial favors which, thank God, we are accustomed to experience in these new conversions, the good conduct of these Pimas is declared. But one can not help regretting that by wrongly laying the blame for the evils of some, who are hostile, upon others, who are not, they hinder, as hitherto they have so grievously hindered, the much needed relief for our ills, which consists in the real punishment of the true enemies, thereby causing excessive expense and salaries amounting to more than twenty-two thousand *pesos* from the royal treasury of his Majesty in supporting war, as well as delaying the boon of the eternal salvation of so many souls, peoples, and natives, whom, per-

[1] Eudeves.

force, they pretend to regard as malevolent evil doers, and robbers, and as barbarous and cruel homicides of so many Christians, which is true of some and not of the others, leaving them intact and not taking the trouble usually necessary to make an expedition against the Apaches, since it is easier to come to the neighboring pacific Pimeria, where the people are gentle and no resistance is encountered, and where there are sufficient sheep and fat beeves, good horses, sufficient provisions, etc. But who does not see how greatly this defrauds God and the king, how great an injustice it is, and how greatly it delays the service of both majesties?

All these months, namely, February, March, April, and part of May, during which time the season for the planting of maize came on, we were zealously building the two new churches of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Cocospora. To aid in it there came from all parts a great many Pimas, from the west, the northwest, and the north, especially the very numerous people of San Francisco Xavier del Bac, Captain Coro, their governor, and their other officers coming with their whole families more than fifty leagues' journey, while others came from even more distant places.

These Pimas Sobaipuris of San Xavier del Bac, having returned in May to their rancherías, found that some Indians from farther inland had eaten some of the mares of the drove belonging to the church which they had in their charge. They went in at once to punish the malefactors, beating many and taking away their bows and arrows, besides taking seven children prisoners, which, to compensate for the damage which these malevolent Indians had done to our drove of mares, they sent to Cocospora and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. They were afterwards catechised and baptized,

and the two oldest girls were married, one to the captain of Cocospora. We have since been in peace and quiet, and I having given an account of this capture and all the rest to the Father Visitor Antonio Leal, his Reverence wrote me on May 29 the following:

> Very good news is that which your Reverence imparts to me. I greatly appreciate that in regard to the quietude, fidelity, and firmness of the children of Bac. God keep them in this good disposition; may they see their holy church finished, with a father to attend them,[8] and may they enjoy it many years, etc.

In the midst of this quietude and firmness of the Pima children, the very false opinions of others, who are little favorable, troubled us greatly. This is very well put by Father Agustín de Campos in the letter recently written me on the occasion of the running off of horses from the frontiers in this month of May by the perpetual enemies, in these words:

> I should like to send men to follow the enemy, but illness has destroyed many for me; and, after all, your Reverence's strength is so great that they have not eaten in vain. The governor of Himeris today reports the news. He went at once to Cocospora, though I do not know with how many of his people. It would be better if over there they would spend in following the enemy the time which they waste in affirming that the Pimas are the evil doers; but with them everything ends in talking, as if thereby we could be helped at all. God keep your Reverence for me.

Thus far Father Agustín de Campos, with much experience and reason. [Rubric]

[8] This indicates that the church at Bac was not yet finished and that there was no resident minister there.

BOOK II. CELESTIAL FAVOR, CONSISTING OF THE ROYAL CÉDULA OF THE NEW AND VERY CATHOLIC MONARCH AND CATHOLIC KING, PHILIP V, COMING IN THE MIDST OF THE OPPOSITION, CONTRADICTIONS, AND ADVERSITIES OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, OR NEW PHILIPPINES

CHAPTER I. OF THE MANY ADVERSITIES AND DELAYS OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

Since the adversities and tribulations of this world are among the celestial favors which our Lord bestows upon us, in the same way and even more properly than I have related the prosperity in this chapter, I shall set forth some of the many adversities which God inflicted upon us or permitted, while in the other chapters of this book I shall tell of the wonderful relief with which He tempered them for us by His most marvelous and most high providence, and in this year of 1703 and the months following relieved us of every kind of opposition and contradiction, and of great obstacles to these new conversions.

I. An indiscreet and choleric lieutenant, in a report of four sheets which he made and presented to the Señor alcalde mayor, brought formal plea against us, making grave charges, with a sworn affidavit that what he was reporting was the truth. The Señor alcalde mayor came in person with his witnesses, made a careful investigation, and found everything to be very false and untrue, a pure chimera and a piece of malice. He

removed the lieutenant from office and put his head in the stocks.

II. Some of our fathers of these new conversions died, others went away or were taken from us, and some soldiers came in to take away the equipment, and the cattle and horses, both of San Xavier del Bac of the Sovaipuris of the north and of La Consepsion de Caborca. They did it so roughly that it seemed not as if they were removing the things, but rather that they were sacking and destroying those new missions outright, and in such a fashion that the captain of the presidio deplored, reprimanded, and even punished these actions, so unseemly, of those soldiers.

III. Moreover, there were terrifying reports and letters to the effect that no more fathers should come for these new missions, because those who, apart from the foregoing, with their dislike for these conversions, had previously made ill and false reports thereof, and, for their own selfish purposes rejoiced in rendering them impossible, once and for all.

IV. Those who had the least right to do so took away from us our cattle and horses, both near here and in the interior, causing us great injuries and delays.

V. They hindered our good relations and friendly intercourse with the natives of the interior, and stoutly opposed the coming of strangers, both of this Pima nation and of the other surrounding new tribes, the Yumas, Quiquimas, and Cocomaricopas.

VI. They beat, cruelly treated, and persecuted with great severity our poor neophytes and servants, and sometimes they took them away from us with such violence that, for example, an Indian woman, the wife of a governor, went to the woods to die in despair and without being baptized. Moreover, it cost another outside

captain his life, which they took away from him by betraying him with gifts, though he was guilty of no other fault or crime than that of having come with some of his people to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, or having spoken well of this mission and district, and of having contradicted some who, because they were ill-disposed, had spoken ill and falsely of it.

VII. The reports hostile to these new conversions went to such an extreme that during these months it was written from here to Mexico and from Mexico here that time spent in these missions was lost, that nothing was being accomplished, and that there was no profit in them; nor could we secure a lieutenant to aid us in these new conversions, or any legal certifications in our favor. We never could secure anything; and when four new fathers came from Mexico to Sinaloa, although the father visitor wrote me that from them the Pimeria should be provided with fathers, on account of the very malicious and altogether false reports which went to Sinaloa, to the effect that these Pimas had just shot with arrows the father of Arispe, Francisco Xavier de Mora,[9] no fathers whatever came, nor did there remain any hopes of fathers or of other relief.

CHAPTER II. THE NEW ROYAL *CÉDULA* OF HIS MAJESTY, PHILIP V, IN FAVOR OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, ARRIVES, AND THE NEW RECTORATE OF THESE NEW MISSIONS OF THIS PIMERÍA IS BEGUN

When we found ourselves in the midst of contradictions and opposition so great that it was a weariness to live, *Ita vt etiam tæderet vivere*,[10] there came to us

[9] This circumstance is recorded by Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 310) and by Alegre (*Historia*, vol. iii, 136).

[10] "That it were a weariness to live" (2 *Cor.*, i, 8. *Ita ut taederet etiam vivere*).

the new royal *cédula* of his Majesty Philip V which, at the same time that without my deserving it, it names me in company with Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra,[11] very expressly and forcibly, greatly, and entirely favors these new conversions, calling upon his audiencia of Guadalaxara, according to custom, for a detailed report in regard to the district in which the uncivilized Indians are found, and to the condition of the conversions of Sinaloa, Sonora, and Nueva Biscaya, that they may be encouraged and continued with the same zeal as hitherto, for the purpose of perfecting a work so greatly to the service of God and to the increase of our holy Catholic faith. These are all words from the royal *cédula* which the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, sent me on the twenty-fifth of February through Father Visitor Antonio Leal, who wrote me the following:

> With the supplies I have received a letter from the father provincial. In it his Reverence sent me, with the royal *cédula*, three reports by [Father] Picolo, one of which he instructs me to send to you. He sends greetings to your Reverence, and says that he is greatly edified and pleased with your glorious work, etc. He asks that I send him a map of all the missions of this *visita*, with all the pueblos, and, if possible, with the number of people of each pueblo. If your Reverence can make this map I shall be greatly obliged,[12] etc.

Thus far the father visitor. At the same time I received the letter and the new disposition of the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, written as early as the twelfth of February of the past year, to the effect that these new missions of this Pimeria should be a separate rectorate, called the rectorate of Nuestra Señora

[11] The reference is to the Cédula of July 17, 1701, printed in the next chapter. For the new royal orders of 1703 in favor of California, see Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, 21. Chapman surmises that they came largely as a result of Kino's writings.

[12] Father Kino may have made this map but I have not seen it.

de los Dolores, and, without my deserving it, appointing me its first rector.[18] The father visitor, Antonio Leal, wrote me these words: "I am greatly rejoiced at the title of most worthy rector which your Reverence has received from our father provincial, etc." and the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, on February 12 of the past year, 1702, with his own hand wrote me the following:

> It is a long time since I have wished your Reverence good health, which I greatly desire may be long continued, that it may be employed so much to the glory of God and the welfare of those heathen, of which I have no doubt, for with the zeal of my very dear fathers, to whom I very cordially commend myself, a large district must have been reduced. In this your Reverence has had the principal part, as its first father and founder, and the one to whom it owes its present state, regarding which I hope for a report, that I may give it to our father general. Over here one of the fathers of California is expected, and when he comes we shall know the condition of that mission, and what means there may be to promote it. May God prosper it and give to all that spirit which he communicated to San Francisco Xavier, that the mission of California as well as that of the Pimería, which I consider as glorious as that of California, may be increased more and more each day.

Thus far the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga.

CHAPTER III. OF THE REPORT OF THE NEW CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF CALIFORNIA WHICH WAS PRINTED IN MEXICO BY FATHER FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, WITH THE ROYAL *CÉDULA* OF JULY 17, 1701, INSERTED

Royal *cédula* which the most pious charity and most Christian zeal of our Catholic monarch, Philip V, God save him, was pleased to grant in the past year of 1701, it being his greatest desire and most diligent care, as a beginning for his happy government, to uphold upon

[18] See *ante*, page 26.

INFORME

DEL ESTADO DE LA NUEVA Chriſtiandad de California,

QUE PIDIO POR AUTO, LA REAL AUDIENCIA DE

GUADALAXARA,

Obedeciendo à la Real Cedula de N. Rey y Señor,

D. PHELIPE V.

Fecha en Madrid, á 17. de Julio, de 1701.

EN QVE ORDENA SV MAGESTAD,

Se le Informe individualmente, à cerca de la Nueva Chriſtiandad, del Progreſſo, Augmento, y Poblacion de aquel Nuevo Reyno.

DADO, Y RESPONDIDO,

à dicha Real Audiencia de Guadalaxara

POR EL P. *FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO* DE LA Compañia de JESUS,

Uno de los primeros fundadores de dichas Miſſiones de California, en las quales ha vivido en compañia del Padre Rector JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, eſtos cinco años que entraron en aquellas tierras.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE OF PICOLO'S INFORME

his royal shoulders, like a new and most Christian Atlas, this new American world, full of countless souls who are in the shadow of death. His most Christian and magnanimous heart coöperating in this cause, it appears that as an exordium of his royal scepter and as first fruits of his crown, God our Lord offers him California, another new world of souls in his Catholic hands, that he may protect it, augment it, and reduce it to the holy Catholic church at the expense of his royal estate; wherefore his Majesty sent the present royal *cédula*, of the following tenor:

THE KING

Very Reverend father in Christ, Archbishop of the metropolitan church of Mexico, my viceroy and captain-general of the provinces of New Spain *ad interim*, Don Joseph Sarmiento de Valladares. Your predecessor in those charges reported in a letter of May 5, 1698, the just motives which he had for giving a license to Juan Maria de Salvatierra and Eusevio Francisco Kino, religious of the Company of Jesus, to go to the Californias to attempt the conversion of those heathen; and in another of October 20, 1699, he informed me of the benefits which had resulted from the expedition of these religious [18a] into that province, and stated that since this undertaking up to that time had been maintained and paid for by persons devoted and zealous for the greater honor of God, these religious had represented to him that these alms might diminish and even fail altogether; and that in that case they might be obliged to end this glorious exploit through not being able to support themselves and the commanders and soldiers whom they had taken for their escort and to garrison a presidio which they had established; and in order to obviate this danger they prayed that he would aid them with a subsidy paid from the royal estate, since it was his obligation to do so.

The viceroy says that although he considers this memorial very just, he has decided not to consent to it before reporting it to me; and the Council of the Indies having seen these letters and the other papers bearing upon the matter, and having con-

[18a] Kino did not go to California.

sulted me thereupon, I have resolved that by no means shall the settlement and mission of the Jesuits lately established in the Californias be abandoned or forsaken, but, rather, that they shall be extended and promoted by all the means possible; and to this end I charge you to give me a very detailed report of the state of the fortification and settlement, what number of persons compose it, and how many persons can be maintained; and if it is expedient that there be vessels to facilitate communication between that province and that kingdom, likewise you will report to me the method by which they can be introduced and maintained; and the places where the uncivilized Indians are found, and the condition of the conversions of Sinaloa, Sonora, and Nueva Biscaya, in order that with these notices and your opinion I may take the measures which I may consider expedient, in order to perfect that work which was begun so many years ago and which is so greatly to the service of God and the increase of our holy Catholic faith.

And since it is just and necessary to assist these religious with some amount to aid in defraying the expenses of this conversion and in maintaining the officers and soldiers who may escort them and garrison the presidio which they have established, I have resolved, also, that now and at once they be assigned and paid six thousand *pesos* each year from those treasuries. And I charge you to give the proper orders that on your part you may stimulate and encourage them to continue in the enterprise with the same zeal as hitherto, and that you thank in my royal name the persons who have aided them with their alms for their zeal and for the service which thereby they have done me, and that you stimulate them to continue in so great a work, following the example of what I have ordered appropriated from my royal estate.

And, keeping in mind the fact that Alonsso Fernandes de la Torre, formerly a citizen of the villa of Compostela in the province of Nueva Galicia, left as heirs of his considerable estates the religious of the Company of Jesus, with the obligation to support two missions in Sinaloa and Sonora, and that in regard to this there is a lawsuit pending in the Audiencia of Guadalaxara, I charge you also that, in case it be decided in their favor, you treat and confer with the provincial and superior of

this order in regard to the means of applying the income from the estates to the missions of Sonora and Cinaloa which are now supported from my royal estate, or to those newly established in the Californias, in such a way that if they are applied to those of Cinaloa and Sonora and do not cover all the expense thereof, the balance shall be supplied from the same sources that supplied the whole, and that what is left over from what was paid from my royal estate for those of Sinaloa and Sonora, be applied to those of the Californias, in addition to the six thousand *pesos* which henceforth I assign to them, as has been stated.

And these religious bearing in mind that this inheritance is to be spent for missions in the Californias, there shall be no change in what is given from my royal estate for those of Sinaloa and Sonora. And you will discuss with them as to the best, most expedient, and surest means available for initiating this matter of so very great importance; for, with regard to the most speedy termination of the lawsuit, I am giving the appropriate order to the president and the Audiencia of Guadalaxara. And I charge the bishop of that diocese that in case some commutations are necessary because Alonso Fernandes de la Torre provided that these two missions should be founded in Cinaloa and Sonora, though they are more necessary in the Californias, he shall attend to the matter as the one whom it immediately concerns, bearing in mind conciliar decisions which treat of the question of commutations; and to apprise you of whatever may occur to him in this matter; and the Audiencia and the President of Guadalaxara I order to do the same, so that you, being informed of everything, may apply the means and measures which I entrust to you on account of your great zeal and of the obligation which rests upon you by virtue of the office which you hold; and of this despatch the accountants who reside in my Council of the Indies will make a record. Madrid, July 17, 1701. I THE KING.

CHAPTER IV. SUCCINCT RELATION WHICH FATHER FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS, MADE IN REGARD TO THE NEW CONVERSION AND PRESENTED TO THE ROYAL AUDIENCIA OF GUADALAXARA, AT THEIR ORDER

"VERY EMINENT SIR: Obeying with complete submission the mandate of your Highness in regard to the points upon which you were pleased by *auto* of February 7, 1702,[14] to order me to report, relative to the condition of the new undertaking in the kingdom of Cali-

[14] This relation was prepared at Guadalajara in response to the royal cédula of July 17, 1701. Several versions of it have been printed. Kino's copy is from the official print published by Picolo in Mexico. The exact title is given in the "Bibliography." Kino's copy is faithful in the essentials but he abbreviates the title and departs from the original in matters of punctuation and spelling. The report appears in *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses* (Paris, 1702-1776; Lyon, 1819). It is retranslated into Spanish from that version in *Cartas Edificantes* (Madrid, 1754), vol. iii, 112-129, under the title *Memorial sobre el estado de las Misiones Nuevamente establecidas en la California por los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus, presentado á la Audiencia Real de Guadalaxara en el Reyno de Mexico á 10 Febrero del año 1702 por el Padre Francisco Maria Picolo, de la Misma Compañia, y uno de los Primeros Fundadores de dicha Mission.* An abbreviated version of the French translation is given in *Recueil de Voiages au Nord* (Amsterdam, 1715), 278-287, under the wrong date of February 10, 1703. A German translation is given in Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, vol. iii, 34-40, num. 72. An English version, translated from the *Lettres Édifiantes* (notwithstanding the statement which it bears that it is "translated from the Spanish") is in Lockman's *Travels of the Jesuits*, vol. i, 395-408. For other versions see Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 426. A contemporary manuscript version of the report entitled *Informe de Francisco Maria Picolo, A.S.M.* is in the Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-28. Of this I have a transcript before me. A careful comparison of the various versions shows that there are two somewhat distinct, although basically identical reports. The original print and the Ms. *Informe* are much fuller than the other versions cited, and are practically identical with each other. I shall refer to the *Cartas Edificantes* version, as the *Memorial*. The *Lettres Édifiantes* version, on which dependence has hitherto been placed, is evidently based on the *Informe* and in many parts is briefer. On the other hand, although it bears the same date, it contains occasional additions, which are apparently of a later date.

fornia, I respond with as much disingenuousness as truth, adding nothing to what we have done, to what with our own eyes we have seen, or to what we have discovered and observed, Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra and I, he as author of this prodigious enterprise, and I as his companion, from the year 1697 to that of 1702. Coming to the first point, in regard to the state of this conversion:

"1. Let me say, sir, that at present it is very prosperous, and that so favorable a beginning gives good hopes of the reduction of so extensive a kingdom as this to our holy faith. Being so glorious an enterprise, it has been more of heaven than of earth; and being rather one of the most holy Mary than of some poor religious, good fortune was certain to attend it, and with so powerful an arm we were able to be the instrument of prodigies; for, trusting in her patronage, we crossed the sea[15] which in that region divides these kingdoms from California, taking as the guiding star of our voyage that star of the sea, the most devoted image of the Lady of Loreto, which led us without mishap to the desired port. There, she being set up as decently as the country and our poverty would permit, we placed the undertaking in her hands, in order that, as hers, it might continue on her account, and that she, who had been so favorable a star of the sea during our voyage, might be in the land of the Californias a beneficent sun, which, with the light of her intercession, should expel the darkness of heathendom which was blinding those who were living in the shadows of death.

"As soon as this brightest of suns shone in that new hemisphere, the Prince of Darkness,[16] in order not to

[15] The *Memorial* inserts the date, October, 1697.

[16] "El Padre de las tinieblas" becomes plain "El Demonio" in the *Memorial*.

lose his ancient and peaceful possession of the souls of those poor people, brought it about that they should be more blinded, through the splendor of so bright a day, so that in the night of his ill-omened darkness they might worship him through the moon, which they adored. And as he blinded their understandings, they could not comprehend the words of the light which, with resplendent rays, spoke the language of heaven for their welfare, while we, upon hearing a language which we had not known, could not in ours, which they had not heard, make known to them the high purpose, for them so advantageous, which had taken us to their lands. And although we had gone to their shores solely to seek the precious pearls of their souls, to nurture them with the heavenly dew of the Divine Word, and to give them their luster in Christ, showing them the celestial shell Mary, who conceived for their good, with the gentle dew of heaven, the perfect pearl of first luster, Christ, they thought that we came like others who at other times, sometimes not without injury to their people, had landed on their shores in search of the many and rich pearls which were produced in the countless fisheries of their coasts.

"With this opinion quickened at the instigation of the Devil, well-armed and in great numbers they attacked our little guard, composed of a few Spaniards who, in the protection of most holy Mary, had a well-ordered army. The barbarians made such an assault, with such fury and so thick a shower of arrows and stones that if the Lady had not constituted an army to resist it, those poor soldiers would have perished and we with them, and our purpose would have been frustrated. But in the ardor of the sovereign influence, the strength of the soldiers was so great that the multitude

of barbarians was repulsed and fled in terror from their arms.

"With this glorious triumph their pride was humbled, for, although barbarians, they recognized that this must be the condition upon which they would be free from the force of our arms. Some of them came to our camp, and through intercourse with them enough was learned to enable us to tell them, in their language, the purpose of our arrival in their country. They understood it well, and as a result of the report which they gave to others, many came to see us and even to thank us for the good which we were bringing them. Then, through easy intercourse with them, we devoted all our efforts to learning their language, which is the Monqui. This difficulty having been overcome, for two whole years we preached to them and taught them the doctrine, Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra teaching the adults and I the children, with such persistence on our part and such application on theirs that of the boys and girls who were now sufficiently instructed many were baptized, in response to the great insistency and the tears with which they asked for baptism. The same happiness was experienced by some sick and old adults who knew it was necessary and were in danger of death without baptism, some of whom, it appears, waited no longer than for the door of heaven to be opened for them that they might enter therein. This happened also with more than fifty infants who, from the arms of their mothers, delivered their souls to the hands of the Lord.

"In the meantime, while this attention was being given to teaching, we did not neglect to explore the surrounding districts, Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra toward the north and I toward the south and

west, because, as we already knew the language, and the natives were now satisfied of our good intentions, they themselves invited us to their lands and rancherías and asked for the blessing which their neighbors already enjoyed, for which cause they brought us their children. Not neglecting to teach those whom we had at home, we set out in search of those who asked for us, and by means of these excursions Father Rector Juan Maria explored all of the rancherías comprised in the missions of Loreto Concho and San Juan de Londo. I explored the mission of San Francisco Xavier Biaundo, which opened a door for me through which to go to the opposite coast;[17] and I explored all the rancherías which are noted in the proper place.

"Father Rector Juan María having now discovered on the north side and I on the south and west a copious harvest, we divided into two missions, and soon we noticed that there was a mingling in them of nations of different languages, one, the Monqui, which we already knew, and the other the Laimon, which we did not know. Immediately we set about with all diligence to learn the latter, and because it is the dominating language, and appears to be the general one in this extensive kingdom, with continued study we learned it quickly, and in it we preach continually and teach the Christian doctrine to the Laimones, as in the Monqui to the Monquis. With this great aid there have been prepared more than a thousand children, who, because of their good disposition and tender entreaties have received baptism, while more than three thousand adults are now ready for it and desire and ask for it. But we, by agreement, have put them off for a better time, because, as these nations are by nature very fickle and pre-

[17] The *Memorial* says "hasta el mar del Sud."

viously have lived much under the authority of their priests, whom they feed, and clothe for their superstitious ceremonies with their hair, which they cut for this purpose,[18] if we baptized them we should run the risk that their priests might pervert them and that we should be unable to make them fulfill their obligations as Christians through our being without the necessary force; therefore, in order not to expose our Catholic religion to derision we have deferred their baptism to a better season. The rule is for these adult catechumens to go every Saturday and Sunday to instruction, in which they are accompanied by the children already baptized, and for the latter to go every Sunday to mass, at which they aid very well; and they practice praying together in their rancherías. In this happy state at present is the conversion of California."

CHAPTER V. OF THE FORTIFICATION, SETTLEMENTS, AND MISSIONS FOUNDED, AND OF THE SOLDIERS AND VESSELS OF CALIFORNIA

"2. The condition of the fortification is fair.[19] It is situated in the estuary of San Dionicio, on the seacoast, at a place called by the natives Conchó and now Loreto Conchó. This fortification consists of an intrenchment made in the form of a square and large enough for a good *plaza de armas* and quarters for the soldiers.[20] At a distance of two arquebus shots is the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, and next to it the dwelling house of the father missionary, with workrooms, a good garden, and a well, arranged for a chain pump. The chapel, the father missionary's house, and the quarters

[18] Omitted from the *Memorial.*

[19] This paragraph is placed near the end of the *Memorial* (p. 126).

[20] The *Memorial* (p. 126) adds: "The fortification has four small bastions, and is surrounded by a good moat."

of the soldiers, are made of good adobe, with tile roofs.

"3. The state of the settlements as they are at present is as follows: Three[21] missions have been founded. The first is that of Nuestra Señora de Loreto Conchô, the second that of San Francisco Xavier Biaundo, and the third that of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, called by the natives Yodiviggé.

"Each one of these missions has under its charge various rancherías.[22] To the mission of Loreto Conchô belong the people of Conchô: to the north, those of Jettí, distant three leagues, those of Tuesddú,[23] distant four leagues, and those of Ligiggí, distant two leagues; toward the south there belong to it those of Vonú, distant two leagues, those of Nunpoló, four leagues, those of Chuyenquí, nine leagues, those of Ligguí, twelve leagues, those of Tripue, fourteen leagues, and those of Loppú, fifteen leagues. To the mission of San Francisco Xavier Viaundo belong the rancherías of Biaundo: to the west the people of Cuibucó, now called Santa Rosalia, distant from this principal mission four leagues; to the south, those of Quimiauma, now El Anxel de la Guarda, distant two leagues; those of Lichu, now El Serro de Caballero, distant three leagues; those of Picolopri, distant twelve leagues, those of Yenuyomú, distant five leagues; those of Undua, six leagues; those of Enulailo, ten leagues; those of Ontta, fifteen leagues; those of Onemaitô, twenty leagues; toward the north, those of Nuntís, three leagues; and of Obbe, eight leagues. The same mission of San Francisco

[21] The *Memorial* (p. 116) says four, "the fourth, which is not yet founded or entirely established, is that of San Juan de Londo." See page 54.

[22] The *Memorial* reads *pueblos* for *rancherías*.

[23] The original print gives the Indian names in this passage as follows: Conchô, Londô, Biaundô, Monquî, Laymon, Yodiviggè, Jettî, Tuyddú, Ligiggè, Vonù, Numpolò, Chuyenqui, Ligguî, Loppù, Cuivucô, Quimiaumà, Picolopri, Yenuyomú, Unduâ, Enulaylô, Ontta, Onemaitô, Nuntî, Obbè, Niumquî, Unubbê, Lôdô, Teupnon, Anchû, Tamonquî, Diutrô, Tripuè, Loppù.

Xavier has a spacious chapel,[24] with dwelling adjoining for the father missionary, and it already has a church begun. Everything is of adobe and tiles.[25] It has gardens in which are raised very good garden-stuff, such as cabbages and lettuce, and fruit trees of the kinds raised on this side, which bear quickly. To the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores belong the rancherías of Yodivineggé: those of Niunqui, which are now called San José, being many in number and close together; to the northward, those of Unubbi. This mission is visited and attended by Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra.

"These are the three missions which have been founded and endowed. The first two Bachelor Don Juan Cavallero y Ocio, priest commissioner of the court of the Holy Office of the Inquisition and of the Santa Crusada, founded and endowed with twenty thousand *pesos* principal and five hundred of income each year for each mission; and besides the founding of these missions he has aided us these five years with more than twenty-five thousand *pesos*,[26] a liberality characteristic of this gentleman, who, it would seem, was born to conserve Christian piety in this New Spain. The mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores was financed and endowed by the gentlemen of the Illustrious Congregation of Dolores de la Virgen, founded in the College of San Pedro y San Pablo of the Company of Jesus in Mexico, by the zeal of its prefect, Father Joze Vidal,[27] of our Company. Its endowment consists of eight thousand *pesos* principal and four hundred of income a

[24] The *Memorial* was evidently written later than this document, for it says here they had had (*havíamos*) a chapel but, it being very small, "a large and capacious church has been begun" (p. 117).

[25] The *Memorial* (p. 117) says of the new church "the walls will be of adobe (*ladrillo*) and the roof of wood."

[26] This item is omitted from the *Memorial*.

[27] This item is omitted from the *Memorial*.

year.[28] Besides these three missions already founded there is another begun, called by the natives Londó, now San Juan. To this belong Teupnon, or San Bruno, distant three leagues to the eastward; to the northward, the people of Hanchá, three leagues distant; to the westward, those of Tamonqui, four leagues, and Diutró, six leagues; and other distant rancherías,[29] which go to San Juan on the arrival of Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra, whose apostolic zeal extends to many places.

"4. In company with Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra I left Father Juan de Ugarte, of our Company, who about a year before had come to those kingdoms, after having aided much in the office of procurator, which he had filled in Mexico.[30] In this short time he had employed himself with such zeal to aiding us that by himself he had explored to the southward the rancherías of Tripué and Loppú, fifteen leagues[31] distant from Loreto. Of these rancherías he has baptized twenty-three infants, given him by their parents for this purpose. He already preaches and teaches the doctrine in the two languages above-mentioned. I left also with Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra eighteen soldiers, with their officers. Of the latter two are married and have wives and children. I left eight other persons, Chinese and Negro servants; and in the two launches, called *San Xaxier* and *El Rosario*, twelve sailors. Besides those whom I left there, there are twelve other sailors whom I took with me in the ship *San Joseph*. There were other soldiers, but we have

[28] This item is omitted from the *Memorial*.

[29] Omitted from the *Memorial*.

[30] The *Memorial* (p. 118) adds that Ugarte himself made a gift to the mission a year before.

[31] Distance omitted from the *Memorial*.

discharged them, because of not having wherewith to pay them, nor even to support them."[82]

CHAPTER VI. NATURE, CLIMATE, FERTILITY, AND FRUITS OF THE COUNTRY; SALINES, PEARLS, AND MINERALS; RANCHERÍAS, ARMS, AND DISPOSITION OF THE NATIVES; ANIMALS, BIRDS, AND FISH OF CALIFORNIA

"5. It seems that under the influence of the new star Mary, who has appeared in her holy image of Loreto, the quality of the country has changed and is better than it was before, for during the five years we have all had good health, and only two persons have died. One of these was a Spanish woman who died from a disorder caused by bathing when she was pregnant and very near delivery. On the shores in summertime the heat is humid and it rains but little; but inland the temperature is benign and mild. It is hot in season, but not excessively so, and the same is true of the winter. During the rainy season there is plentiful rainfall; and in all parts outside of the rainy season the dew is so heavy at times that in the mornings it looks like rain. With so continuous and abundant watering, the pleasant fields are all the year clad with excellent pasturage, which in the dry season is between green and dry. For the most part it consists of stretches of tall grama-grass; besides, in these fields there are all the herbs which constitute the pasturage of cattle, sheep, and goats of these kingdoms. There are very large and spacious plains, beautiful meadows, very pleasant valleys, many springs, creeks, and rivers, with banks well grown with willows amid thick tangles of reed-grass and wild grapevines.

"A land so fertile must bear fruits. Those which are

[82] These items about servants, launches, sailors, and soldiers are all omitted from the *Memorial*.

indigenous to the country are abundant, for the hills are full of *mescales* all the year, and for a great part of the year they are laden with large and various *pitajayas* and red *tunas*. There is an abundance of trees, which the Chinese, from the knowledge which they have of those in their country,[33] call *palo santo* (holy wood). These produce for food a little fruit in abundance and exude a very pleasant incense. There are also many red beans which the natives gather and of which they provide large stores to eat. They have for food more than fourteen kinds of seeds, as for example, hempseed, canary seed, etc. Roots serve them for the same purpose. There is a great abundance of yucca, which is their daily bread. There are very good and sweet camotes; and there is scarcely a root or plant or tree from which they do not secure food. In order that sugar, which with so great artifice and toil is made over here, may not be lacking to the Californians, heaven provides them with it in abundance in the months of April, May, and June, in the dew which at that time falls upon the broad leaves, where it hardens and coagulates.[34] They gather large quantities of it, and I have seen and eaten it. It is as sweet as sugar to the taste, and differs only in the refraction, which makes it dark. There is also an abundance of wild grapevines near the rivers, as has been said, and in the rivers there are fish and shrimp, which they catch; and it may be that they have them in the great lagoons which are there, but I have not noticed them, although I have seen three very large lagoons. They have also a great abundance of *jicamas*,[34a] which are better flavored than ours.

[33] This passage seems plainly to imply that by Chinos are meant Chinese, but the *Memorial* (p. 120) says "which the Chinos (as they call the natives of the country) call Palo Santo."

[34] Omitted from the *Memorial*.

[34a] *Bumelia solscifolia*.

"From all these products which the land yields of itself, its great fertility is seen, and it is better seen by the products of this country after it has received and returned them with extraordinary harvest. There have been planted maize, chick-peas, lentils, and beans, and all have produced well in proportion to the small amount which in every case has been planted, because of not having implements to cultivate the soil, nor the assistance of men nor of anyone who understands it, nor more time than the little which is left over from the work of cultivation of the souls of these poor people. I, for the relief of our poverty, as well as for the sake of experiment, have planted a little maize, without being able to prepare the soil except with a bad plough, and it has yielded well, producing more than in these kingdoms; and the same was true of beans, of which a large quantity was gathered; and in imitation some Californians planted a little maize, without any cultivation, and harvested it. Some of the wheat which had been sown as an experiment has been cooked and hosts made of it. I planted pumpkins, melons, and watermelons, and the land is so fertile that they yielded with extraordinary abundance, some of the same plants bearing fruit three times in a year. All this promises a great plenty of products when there shall be people to cultivate the land and to avail themselves of its fertility and of the abundance of water, where, with very little effort, there can be very good harvests of the many products which the land bears. In point of plants it may already rejoice in the reputation of being fertile and abundant, as well as being rich in other products.

"There are very many large salines of very white salt, whose brilliance resembles that of crystal, and which is so hard that sometimes the aid of the bar is necessary. A sample has already been seen in this

country, and this is like all the rest. In all the coast, and especially in the adjacent islands, there are so many pearl fisheries that they can be counted by the thousands. This abundance of pearls has made California famous in the world, and has made it for almost two centuries the target of human desires, and for this treasure so many have undertaken its exploration and so many have visited its shores and continue to visit them with no other object than that of pearls. From the salt entire ships might be laden for these kingdoms; from the pearls his Majesty, God save him, might, if he chose, increase his royal estate, with a person satisfactory and zealous only for the royal possessions. The interior country promises many minerals, being in the same latitude with the rich minerals of Sinaloa and Sonora.

"6. All this fertility and wealth God placed in California only to be unappreciated by the natives, because they are of a race who live satisfied with merely eating. From what we have seen and heard of them, these Californians are numerous on the shores, farther inland, and much more numerous to the northward. They live in rancherías of twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty families, more or less. They do not use houses. The shade of the trees serves them to resist the scorching heat of the sun, and the branches and leaves to protect them at night from the inclemency of the weather. In the rigor of winter they live in caves which they make in the earth; and in all these shelters they dwell many together, like brutes. So far as we have seen, the men go naked. In general they wear nothing but a band, well woven, and, in default of this, a curious little net with which they encircle the front, and some well wrought figures in mother-of-pearl which they hang round the neck, which they sometimes decorate with some little

round fruits, like beads. They put the same ornament on their hands. They always carry in their hands their weapons, which are the bow, arrow, and dart, sometimes for the chase, and sometimes to defend themselves from their enemies, for some of the rancherías are hostile to others. The women are more modestly clothed, being covered from the waist to the knees with little stems of reed-grass carefully woven and pressed together. Behind, in the same way, they wear deer skins, or threads well woven. Their head-dress is a little net which they obtain from grasses, or of fiber which they obtain from the agaves. These little nets are so nicely made that the soldiers tie up their hair with them. Their necklaces, which hang almost to the waist, are figures of mother-of-pearl, and little berries, stems of reed grass, and small snails, intermingled. The bracelets are of the same material.

"The occupation of the men as well as of the women is the spinning of thread and fiber, fine and coarse. Of the fine they weave very close-wrought bands and the nicely-made little nets. Of the coarse they weave nets of which they make bags or reticules in which to gather their provisions, and nets for fishing. Of grasses the men make very close-woven baskets, or hampers, of different sizes. The small ones serve as jars from which to drink water, as plates for eating, and as hats for women. The large serve for gathering small fruits and other provisions, and in which to roast their small fruits, by dint of keeping them in continual motion so as not to burn them.

"By nature they are very lively and alert, qualities which they show, among other ways, by ridiculing any barbarism in their language, as they did with us when we were preaching to them. When they have been do-

mesticated they come after preaching to correct any slip in the use of their language. If one preaches to them any mysteries contrary to their ancient errors, the sermon ended, they come to the father, call him to account for what he has said to them, and argue and discuss with him in favor of their error with considerable plausibility; but through reason they submit with all docility.[35] By these evidences of intelligence they show that they ought not to be counted among the brutes of that kingdom. Of these there are many and various, many of which serve for the palate and for sustenance, and others only to beautify the fields and woods with their variety.

"7. For there are so many deer, roe, hares, and rabbits, that, although they kill many or all of them, they are nevertheless to be seen in droves. There are two species of wild animals that are not known in these kingdoms which, because of some resemblance, they call sheep. One of the species is an animal as large as a lamb a year and a half old. Its head is like a deer's; the horns, which are extraordinarily thick, are like a sheep's; the hoof is large, round, and cloven, like that of an ox; the hair is like that of a deer, but shorter, and somewhat spotted; the tail is very short; the flesh is very good, and I have eaten it with a relish. The other species is an animal nowise different from our sheep except that it is larger. Of this species some are white and some dark. They are very woolly, and their wool I have had prepared for spinning.[36] Of both species

[35] At this point the *Memorial* (p. 125) adds: "*No hemos hallado entre ellos forma alguna de govierno, ni apenas culto reglado de Religion. Adoran la Luna y se cortan los cabellos, no sé si en la menguante, en honra de su divinidad, y se los dan à sus Sacerdotes, y estas se sirven de ellos para varias supersticiones. Cada familia se hace las leyes que quiere, y pienso que es la raxon, y motivo de las querellas, que muchas veces se levantan, hasta venir à los manos entre las familias.*"

[36] This animal was evidently the mountain sheep or big-horn.

there are droves. All these animals serve for food. Those which serve for adornment are lions, wildcats, and the others which are known over here.

"Of flying creatures there is an abundance. There are all the birds of these kingdoms, such as mocking birds, larks, scissor tails, cardinals, etc. Besides these the country abounds in linnets smaller than those of Spain, but nowise different from them in their song and coloring. These are among the birds which serve for delight, with sweetness to the ear. There is a multitude of partridges which serve as a relish to the taste, besides pigeons and turtle-doves. In the rivers there are geese, ducks, and other fowls which seek their food in the water.

"To these animals native to the country we have added many of ours, for there are already more than a thousand head of sheep and goats, which by now would be very numerous, because of the extensive pastures of that country, if we had not laid hands on them because of the great need which we have suffered. This kind of stock grows very well and is very fat all the year round. There are also a few cattle, which, for the same reason, have not increased very much. The country is very well adapted to these cattle, and to horses also. Of the latter there are a few, including young mares for breeding purposes. There were many swine, but we consumed them because the women were afraid of them and suffered some injuries from them in their rancherías. There are doves and Castilian birds, for all of which the country is good.

"Besides this, the Californians near the sea enjoy very good fish, in which that sea is very prolific. There are many tunnies, which are accustomed to come to hand on the shores; and many pargo, pampano, sardines, anchovies, and many other kinds. This sea abounds greatly in whales, which are seen on every

hand. There are tortoises of all kinds, and on the shores there are heaps of various shells larger than those formed by the pearl oyster which they take from the pearl fisheries."

CHAPTER VII. IT IS ASKED THAT IN CALIFORNIA THERE BE TWO VESSELS, AND MORE MISSIONARY FATHERS, A PRESIDIO OF SOLDIERS, AND FAMILIES OF SETTLERS, ETC.

"8. An account of California and its condition has now been given. In order that everything may be attained and promoted to the greater glory of God and the service of our Catholic monarch, God save him, two vessels are necessary, one a larger one which can come to the coasts of these kingdoms for cattle and supplies, and another, medium-sized, which may go to coasts of Sinaloa and Sonora, very near to California, for the aid which may be brought immediately from the missions of the Company, and also to explore the coast to the northward, for which purpose it will be well that the medium-sized vessel be a brigantine or a galliot. For these vessels there is no need of captains, pilots, or other officers, who would occasion great expense to his Majesty; those who are there now and such others as may go there are sufficient, for there are many experienced persons without these offices who with great skill and ease run this short course. In this way we have maintained ourselves all this time without having lacked anything, saving thereby the high salaries which, indeed, are superfluous.

"I have complied, sir, with your Highness's mandate, arranging my report according to the well-considered points which your Highness was pleased to suggest to me, in order that I might give an account of the state of California, whence I have just come, and where I was

the lesser instrument in what our Lord has been pleased to accomplish through the intercession of the most holy Virgin and by the great zeal of Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra, head of this glorious enterprise. And now, as it appears that your Highness's purpose has been to inform the pious and zealous Catholic king, Don Philip V, God save him, according to the signs which his sovereign protection gives of extending the empire of Christ with a great number of converts in this kingdom, that they may adorn the crown of his Catholic mercy, it will not be out of keeping with the mandates of your Highness to represent to you, as a very loving vassal of so Catholic a monarch, what will help to bring it about that, the empire of Christ being extended by his sovereign influence over the converts, the glory of his crown may increase with the increase of his vassals.

"1. For so glorious an end and so abundant a harvest as that which at present invites one's fervent zeal, it will be well that there should be more missionaries, in order that they may penetrate to the interior and found new missions, because with so few as we have been it will not be easy either to keep up what has already been established or to found other new missions.[37]

"2. Also, a presidio of Spaniards, such as one of those which are in the Kingdom of Nueva Viscaya, is very necessary, because, since the Californians are very numerous, and since there is no one there to rely upon, and as recourse from there to this kingdom is not easy, this restraint will be expedient, in order that they may

[37] The recommendations at the end of the *Memorial* (pp. 127-128) are: (1) a reward for the first soldiers who went to California; (2) that "noble" families be secured for settlers; (3) that missionaries and military chiefs live in harmony; (4) that the missionaries be relieved of charge of the soldiers; (5) that an intendant or commissary be appointed.

always be quiet and that the conversion may be promoted. It will also be well, for this purpose, to provide that the presidio be placed in a convenient post whence, as from a center, the garrison may go out to all parts where aid may be necessary.

"3. It will be no less important for the purpose that the father rector, on consultation, should choose officers, or remove them, whenever it conduces to the service of God and of his Majesty, as hitherto Father Juan Maria and I have done, in virtue of the despatch of his Excellency, the viceroy of Spain, the Conde de Moctesuma, Don Jose Sarmiento Valladares. To this provision has been due such success as there has been, and the fact that inconveniences which might have been a hindrance have been avoided.

"4. And since the great progress which California shows today is due to the valor of the first soldier conquerors, it will be well that his Majesty be pleased to give them some reward, in order that, in imitation of their works, those who may come in future may be encouraged to gain this reward.

"5. It will be a wise provision to have that kingdom settled by some families of artisans, in order that so apt a nation may later exercise the crafts for the benefit of those kingdoms.

"6. In order that the principal obligations of the conversion may be attended to, that temporal cares may not be an embarrassment, and that everything may be close at hand, it will be expedient that the royal appropriation for California be placed in the royal chest of Guadalaxara, nearer to that kingdom.

"7. And because the passing of payments through the hands of the fathers is a hindrance to their ministry, it will be well that his Majesty should appoint a trust-

worthy and meritorious person, with the title of *adelantado* or *proveedor general*, to attend to aiding the fathers and soldiers and to look after the settlements which may be made, working with zeal only for the conversion of this kingdom, so that what has cost so much may not be lost through ambition.

"This, sir, is the humble representation which I make to your Highness in order that in it your Highness may see, with your mature and prudent judgment, what is most expedient to report to the Catholic zeal of his Majesty, and although, obliged by so superior a mandate, I have reported the state of the Californias and, on the other hand, what will be conducive to their most glorious progress, I was constrained to place myself at the feet of your Highness to accomplish the purpose and aim of my coming from those kingdoms to these, in order that with the great piety which shines and is venerated in your Highness, you might remove the great obstacles and relieve the lack of necessities which the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, has experienced in these years; for, because he was so devoid of means to advance the discovery, and was debtor for great amounts which by their toil and pains these poor conquerors have earned, and not having the means to pay what he already owed them and obligations which must in future be incurred, he had determined to dismiss them all, and that we should remain alone in that kingdom, which is as full of dangers as of heathen. But this determination being announced, the soldiers resisted it with all piety, and gladly remained to accompany the fathers.

"For this reason, and as a recompense of so Christian a resolution, it was arranged that I should come to seek the aid and have the good fortune of venerating the

great authority and piety of your Highness, to whom I looked as a guiding star for the success of my coming. When I arrived in this kingdom, seeking comfort from pious hearts, I found it in the news of what the Catholic breast of our great king had given us in the grant of six thousand *pesos* a year,[371a] whereby my mind was relieved and great hopes were raised of holding these kingdoms through the aid of your Highness. This may serve for the complete relief of those of us who in these years would have perished if it had not been for the missionary fathers of Sonora, Sinaloa, and Los Taraumares, who, as is their wont, with charitable zeal and solicitude for the welfare of the souls of the heathen, have succored us whenever we have come to their coasts, and for the great charity of these kingdoms in the many alms which so many persons, zealous for the good of these poor people, have bestowed upon us. And all this and the much that we hope for through the influence of your Highness we recognize as coming from heaven through the intercession of most holy Mary, in whose hands, since the beginning, we have placed the undertaking, in order that to this great Lady the glory may be due. May the same Lady obtain from God great and prudent decisions in the most righteous government of your Highness, that by means of your lofty judgment and sovereign influence our Catholic monarchy may be extended, and that he may guard the Catholic and royal person of your Highness the many years that Christendom requires. Guadalaxara, February 10, 1702.

"FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, of the Company of Jesus."

"My due thankfulness wished to show itself appreciative in this report by making note of the benefactors who have aided in this new conversion and conquest of

[371a] See *ante*, page 44.

the Californias, in the first place, to give some sign of the gratitude of these new missions, and in the second, because they so requested of me from Madrid, in order that his Majesty might know the names of the benefactors, whom, even before knowing them individually, he ordered me to thank in his royal name for the pious liberality with which they had comported themselves in an enterprise so much for the service of God and of the king our Lord, in the reduction of innumerable souls that shall be added to the church, as I hope, under the protection of the great conqueror, Mary most holy, and as the extension of this new kingdom of California promises. But the benefactors, in their pious modesty, having asked me to publish neither their names nor the alms which they have given for this cause of Jesus Christ, I find myself obliged to mortify my desires, and I do it with all submission, that the names of the benefactors, so great and noble, may remain printed and graven by the hand of the great lady, Mary most holy, in the Book of Life."[88]

CHAPTER VIII. THE ABOVE ROYAL *CÉDULA* AND THE REPORT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA FURNISH A MOTIVE FOR MAKING A REPORT IN THIS TREATISE UPON THE STATE OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS OF THIS NUEVA VISCAYA, FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS

I. Some time ago various distinguished persons said that these two spiritual conquests and new conversions of California and the two Christian communities of Pimeria and Nueva Viscaya must be sisters.

II. The royal *cédula* greatly favors both of them, with the same very Catholic and most Christian affection. May his divine Majesty reward him with the

[88] This paragraph is omitted from the *Memorial.*

most fortunate and most glorious successes in this American orb, in the European, and in the blessed eternity of the heavens.

III. Our father general, Tyrsso Gonsales, in a letter from Rome dated December 24, 1701, in answer to some letters and reports which, at the express request of his Reverence, I had sent him by the father procurators, Bernardo Rolandegui and Nicolas de Vera,[89] writes me the following:

> Of great comfort to me has been your Reverence's letter of January 25, 1700, accompanied by the relation or treatise on the celestial favors experienced in the new conversions, and it has been a very pleasant occupation to me to give thanks to God that he should make use of his ministers for his greater glory and the advancement of our true religion. To reward your Reverence for your zeal and most glorious travails, God hath prepared eternal rest in His glory. Therefore, I shall not attempt to reward you, but shall only express my utmost gratitude to your Reverence, exhorting you with paternal affection to continue in an undertaking so great and so characteristic of our profession, etc.
>
> P.S. As soon as Father Rolandegui delivered me the relation which your Reverence sent, I read it all, without omitting a word. And I affectionately charge your Reverence that as soon as possible you write the second part, as you promise, giving me in great detail an account of the new missions which are being opened and of the progress being made by those that are already opened.

Thus far our father general.

IV. The father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, in the letter which he sent me from this new rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores with the report on California, which with so great courtesy he was pleased to send me, likewise appears to ask me the same, that is, a similar report on these new conversions of this Pimeria.

[89] Part I of this work was sent by these men. See volume i, 275.

V. Very expressly it is requested of me by some persons favorable to new missions, and especially by my neighbor, Father Agustin de Campos, who for ten years has gloriously toiled in the neighboring mission of San Ignacio; for when I sent his Reverence the report on these new conversions and California, in a letter he wrote me that it was expedient that a report be made of these new conversions also, since they are in a country nearer and richer, etc. And when I suggested that his Reverence make this report, he in another letter answered me as follows:

> I have not made nor am I making a report. It is your Reverence's duty.[40] If it were mine I should make two; one to the father provincial, to the effect that his Majesty has three missions paid for, Tubutama, La Consepsion del Caborca, and San Francisco Xavier del Bac, but that they have been many years without a minister, as a result of which very many souls are lost beyond recall; that he should send ministers with the understanding that they come to work, etc. The other report should be for the Señor viceroy. It should be succinct and simple, commencing with your Reverence's mission as the oldest, etc., and going as far as the last stations of the Sovaipuris. And, your Reverence, say as much as you wish, for they are most suitable for founding missions; and finally, petition, petition again, clamor, clamor again, to the Señor viceroy, that he report with a paper printed in his name, for I judge this to be expedient and necessary. And do not fear any opposition from me in the matter, your Reverence, for you will not have it; on the contrary, you will have hearty endorsement of your petition. May God keep your Reverence.

Thus far Father Agustin de Campos.

[40] This statement indicates the primacy accorded Kino in his district.

CHAPTER IX.[40a] DIFFERENT ONES OF US MAKE DIVERS REPORTS THROUGH VARIOUS CHANNELS. NEVERTHELESS, THE PURPOSE IS NOT ATTAINED, BECAUSE THE TIME IS NOT YET RIPE AND BECAUSE OF FALSE REPORTS OF THOSE LITTLE INCLINED OR HOSTILE TO THE COMING OF THE FATHERS

Upon the receipt of these favorable opinions of so many persons, not only I, but also various other individuals, made various reports and maps of these new lands, in order that fathers might come to these harvests of souls, so plentiful and so ripe. I sent a report and a map [41] through the father visitor. In regard to the map his Reverence writes me the following letter:

> May our Lord recompense your Reverence for your work and care with the map, for which I heartily thank you. It is very fine, since it shows the old and the new missions of this *visita* and of California, and it comes in good time to be sent to the father provincial. If your Reverence writes to him you will please say to him that I have given your Reverence his message, greeting you and thanking you for your holy zeal and work, etc. I beg you Reverence to do me the favor of thanking those Pima children for the greetings which they send me, returning them in my name with great affection, telling them that I will repay them by offering three masses to the most holy Trinity and one to our Lady, for their spiritual good.

Thus the father provincial wrote me, and at almost the same time Captain Antonio Bezerra, who was going to Mexico to secure the captaincy of the presidio of Janos, wrote me as follows:

> I have received the packets and messages for the fathers of Mexico, and shall try to deliver them into their own hands; and I shall consult concerning the fathers whom this Pimeria needs, in order that in everything the service of God may be

[40a] From here to the end of the book the chapters were wrongly numbered, viii being here repeated. The numbering has been corrected by the editor.

[41] I have never seen this report nor mention of it other than this.

done, and that your Reverence may obtain such apostolic desires. And in order that I may bring it about and have good fortune on my journey, I pray your Reverence to commend me to God in your holy sacrifices.

General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente, who surrendered and resigned the presidio of Janos to Captain Antonio Bezerra, wrote me in these words:

I greatly rejoice in your Reverence's good health and in all your happy progress, your discovery that this is terra firma with California, and your having the Pima children so advanced toward receiving holy baptism. May his divine Majesty will that we may see fulfilled the Christian and zealous desires of your Reverence, to whom I wish to express my appreciation of the greetings which you were pleased to give me on behalf of all the Pima governors and children. I commend myself to them with all my heart, and beseech your Reverence to give them for me my loving greetings, and to say that I rejoice in their good friendship and in their desire to receive fathers, and that in that connection I shall do everything in my power that it may be brought about, as well as to aid the new churches of that new Christian community. And I rejoice that his Majesty gives attention with his most Christian Catholic zeal to a matter of so great consequence and service to the two Majesties. The letters which your Reverence entrusts to me shall go to Mexico with my compadre [41a] Antonio Bezerra, who will deliver them into the very hands of their owners, and everything shall be done as your Reverence designs.

Thus far General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente.

CHAPTER X. SOME REASONS WHY THE COMING OF THE DESIRED AND NECESSARY FATHERS FOR THESE NEW CONVERSIONS IS NOT YET BROUGHT ABOUT

Notwithstanding the fact that by so many means and through so many reports and letters efforts were made that these new missions might secure the necessary fathers, as there were also opposing reports of those ill-

[41a] If A is father and B godfather of a child, A and B are compadres.

disposed, at this time the purpose was not yet accomplished, and there were various opinions and consultations in regard to the hindrances to the coming of these fathers.

I. Some said that they were hindered, indeed, by all these, the envy, the emulation, and the chimeras which the common enemy raised up and thrust in so as not to lose dominion over so many souls which for so many years he had held and still holds in slavery.

II. Others said that it was the obstinacy of those who for so many years have written ill of this Pimeria, for in order not to be discredited they tried to maintain their point that this Pimeria did not deserve or need these fathers.

III. Others said that it was feared that these new missions would become burdensome to the old missions, and that we should neglect the missions which we have on our hands and in our care.

IV. Others said that it would be difficult to aid and attend to California.

V. More truly others said that the appointed time had not yet come, nor the appointed fathers whom His divine Majesty had prepared for an undertaking so much His own, and that the things which were to be celestial favors were not to be human dispositions, and that that could not be accomplished by men or by human, earthly forces which was reserved for the great glory of the wonderful power and judgment of the Most High, *quoniam tu solus santus, tu solus altisimus*,[42] who, by celestial favor, knoweth how to bring forth from contradiction and opposition the celestial favors of his blessed promotion of the greatest glory. And if one asks of Him (I say it from the gospel)

[42] "Since Thou alone art holy, Thou alone most high." (From the "Gloria" of the Mass).

whether He or His father and mother by their sins caused the unhappy blindness, they will hear it from Him that neither He nor His father nor His mother caused that grievous blindness by their sins, but that all was in order that He might the more receive the great and wonderful mercy and the greater glory of God; *Sed vt manifestetur gloria Dei*[42] in His celestial favors. And, thank God, the principal thing is under way, and there are good and solid hopes of the conversion of all this unknown North America, in view of the good state of the more than thirty thousand souls reduced, and the fact that every year so many natives come here most amicably, even from very far away, to see us, to ask us for holy baptism, and to aid us in the building of new churches, as, for example, on the twentieth of March many Yumas, Quiquimas, and others came, travelling more than one hundred and seventy leagues.

CHAPTER XI. DIFFERENT PERSONS WHO IN THESE MONTHS WRITE IN FAVOR OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, WITH A REPORT FOR HIS ROYAL MAJESTY, GOD SAVE HIM

At this juncture, when the coming of the fathers was suspended for us, and when with great zeal and heavy expenditures, all of which were joyfully given, thank God, in the Pimeria, we were working at the building of the two new churches of Nuestra Señora de los [Remedios] and Santiago de Cocospora, four different persons, three of priestly tonsure, wrote me in these months the following letters, with a report for his royal Majesty, Philip V, God save him.

One person, very experienced and very zealous for the service of both majesties and for the welfare of

[42] "But to manifest the glory of God." Compare *John*, ix, 1-3.

souls, writes me as follows: "Let no one fear that there will be lack of men. Let us bring in Frenchmen[44] in great numbers for the new undertaking, to the end that the land may belong to God, who has peopled it with so many souls, etc." And for his Majesty he sent me a report which, reduced to a brief summary, is as follows:

SACRED ROYAL MAJESTY: The undertaking of these new spiritual and temporal conquests, without excessive expense to the royal estate, needs the royal protection of your Majesty. The Hydras frighten those who are not Hercules, like your Majesty, with the *plus ultra* of two worlds. To weak shoulders it will appear a chimerical idea to sustain two heavens; but your Majesty, Atlas of the Church Militant, shall find the weight to be most worthy of your royal shoulders. The part of the mainland of North America north of thirty degrees of north latitude asks the royal protection and overlordship of your royal Majesty, for, being your Majesty's, it will be the merciful God's.

The enterprise involves the reduction of the very extensive unknown North America, the peace of all the interior, the protection of the Californias, and the establishment of a resting place in the west for the sick on the voyage from Manila; and to the eastward the trade and commerce with New France, with well-founded hopes of innumerable treasures, for it lies in the latitude of Sonora and Pimeria, provinces where there are veins of silver. Your royal Majesty, Atlas of the two heavens, has the American India at your royal feet, asking the royal protection of your royal Majesty. And you will greatly please God by deigning to command that there be established, not a presidio, but a villa, on the large volumed, very populous, and very fertile Colorado River, which, in a short time, with the mines and the fertile lands, and the commerce with China, will be fit to be the capital villa of a viceroyalty.

Your royal Majesty bears only one charge in Sonora; and in the Pimeria there are many horses and cattle to forward the undertaking. Moreover, the river, like others near by, is

[44] At this time the relations of the French and Spanish courts were very close, otherwise this would sound strange.

peopled with industrious and friendly Indians. Already the Pimeria, new conquest of the Company of Jesus, as a result of the apostolic toils of the apostolic hero, Eusevio Francisco Kino, is seen to be the road to the new villa; and the said Pimeria, promoted by zealous workers, will be the storehouse and nursery of the new settlement, until all kinds of cattle, etc., shall be raised. The great intellect of your royal Majesty will be able to comprehend the other profitable things, both spiritual and temporal, which may be secured from such an undertaking. This I suggest to the Catholic piety of your royal and very Catholic Majesty. May the divine one prosper you as the Atlas of his Church. Today, January 21, 1703, in the province of Sonora. Your serene royal Majesty's humble chaplain and most insignificant vassal. N. C.[45]

Thus far the person very experienced, capable, religious, and zealous for the service of both Majesties.

CHAPTER XII. OTHER LETTERS FROM VARIOUS PERSONS WHO IN THESE TIMES OF CONTROVERSY, OPPOSITION, AND DELAYS OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, SPEAK MUCH GOOD OF THEM

The actual father provost of the Casa Profesa[46] of Mexico, who had been provincial of all the province of New Spain, on the fifteenth of April of this year 1703, wrote me the following:

I have greatly rejoiced over the discovery of the passage to California. The father provincial, Ambrocio Oddon, as soon as he entered sent eight fathers; I do not know whether some will fall to your Reverence or not.[47] I should rejoice to be one of them and to be at the service of your Reverence, employing the few remaining days of my life in ministering to those poor dear creatures, in order to be able in some degree to satisfy the divine Majesty. May He keep your Reverence for me, etc.

On the twenty-first of August the lieutenant of this

[45] The identity of the author of this letter is uncertain. N. C. may possibly be a misreading for A. C. – Augustín Campos.

[46] The Casa Profesa still stands in the heart of Mexico City.

[47] Four were destined to Pimería Alta. See Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 136.

presidio, Captain Don Gregorio Tuñon y Quiros,[48] on his return from Cinaloa, wrote me the following words:

> Do not be greatly concerned, your Reverence, at the report that the Pimas have murdered Father Xavier de Mora, for clearly manifest is the truth of the contrary; and as to the great chimera, when I was in Cinaloa, and at the Real de los Frailes, when occasions offered themselves I opened the eyes of different persons to the truth regarding the peaceful state of the Pimeria; therefore, better times are coming.

Thus far Captain Don Gregorio. Brother Juan de Estaineser, who a short time before had come from Mexico to the missions, on August 24 writes me from Cinaloa as follows:

> I was very sorry when I learned that the fathers had not arrived there, whom I suppose your Reverence, so anxious to minister to so many souls as are found about you, was awaiting. O that I were able to send several good men, who would put this work, so very precious in the eyes of God, before all convenience, and even before their own health, etc.

Thus far Brother Juan. From his holy convent of La Merzed, Redemption of Captives,[49] in Teocaltiche, the very reverend father prefect, Fray Francisco Lopes de Soto Mayor, because of the news of these new conversions of this Pimeria taken to his Reverence by Fray Francisco Belmar, who the past year and also fifteen years before, when I entered to begin these new conversions, had come zealously with me, and was present at many of the first baptisms, on September 22 of this year 1703, wrote me the following very religious and holy letter:

> At the same time with the news given into our hands by

[48] His name is given in Bancroft as Gregorio Álvarez Tuñon. He succeeded Fuensaldaña as commander of the *Compañía Volante* of Sonora, and is said to have been objectionable to the missionaries, but this passage does not indicate it (see Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 503).

[49] Redension de Cautivos.

Fray Francisco Ruis de Belmar, who in 1686 [50] entered with your Reverence to the first baptisms of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, your Reverence's most pleasing and amiable letter was read in the presence of the Señor alcalde mayor of this pueblo and of the Señor curate, and they were astonished at the expeditions which your Reverence has made into so many parts, through so many heathen communities and nations, and at your having added to our holy faith so many souls and to our friendship more than twenty-five thousand, mostly industrious Indians. For this we give thanks to our Lord. The other day I said the *Missa Cantada* in thanksgiving, praying his divine Majesty to give your Reverence aid and strength for a work of so great service to God our Lord. We have attributed it all to your Reverence's steps in imitation of the Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier. My principal vow is that, God willing, sometime during the month of next September I must go to Mexico to speak with the father visitor, who, they say, is coming in the supply ships which are at the Island of Martinique. His name is Father Manuel Pineiro; [51] he is of the province of Aragon, etc.

Thus far the reverend fray prefect.

CHAPTER XIII. LETTERS WITH SOME NEWS OF THE NEW CONVERSIONS OF GREAT CHINA, WHICH HAVE COME TO MY HANDS DURING THESE MONTHS

I have always had an especially strong leaning toward the conversions of Great China, and at the suggestion of the superiors I applied myself to the mathematical sciences, which are very general there, and in

[50] 1687.

[51] Father Francisco Arteaga was succeeded temporarily by Father Ambrosio Oddon, awaiting the arrival of Manuel Pineiro. Originally from the province of Aragón, where he presided over the colleges of Mayorca, Barcelona, and Zaragoza, and was procurator to Rome and provincial, Pineiro was sent to be provincial of Toledo. A few months later he was appointed visitor and vice provincial of New Spain, where he died in less than a year. He was succeeded by Father Juan María Salvatierra, of California (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 140. See *post*, page 108).

the beginning I asked to go to the missions there, because in that great vineyard of the Lord had lived and worked my kinsman, Father Martin Martini, who wrote those celebrated volumes and geographical maps of the great empire and monarchy of Great China.[52]

In these months, when we were building the two new churches of this Pimeria, the father rector, Adamo Gilg, sent me the following letter from Father Pedro Van Hamme,[53] missionary of Great China, who at first however, a few years ago, was a missionary of Taraumares and of this Nueva Viscaya, of this New Spain or North America. He writes then to Father Guilielmo y Cinzer, missionary of Chinipas, on December 17, 1700, as follows:

> I beg your Reverence to greet in my name all the fathers whom I know, and to communicate my letter to as many as possible. I am here in this province of Haquam.[54] The emperor of China has continued, according to his custom, to show respect to our fathers. Last year he came to Nanquin with a great following, and some fathers of the Company and all the missionaries who went to see him there and in other places he admitted to his presence, giving them all some silver. At the same time there went to the court five French fathers, one brother coadjutor, and a secular painter, all Frenchmen lately arrived there separately; and more lawsuits are feared because of a suspension *ab administracione Sacramentorum*.[55]
>
> A few days ago I returned to my house from a mission which

[52] One of Father Martini's geographical works was: Martini (Martinus), *Novus Altas Siñensis (Beyfugung vom Catayo [by J. Golius]. Historia von dem Tartarischen Krieg, etc.* [with colored maps], (Amsterdam, 1655. J. Blaeci). Another was: *Description Geographique de la Chine, traduite d'un autheur Chinois par la Père Martini* (1663), fol. Concerning Father Martin Martini see Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, vol. i, p. iii, 114. He returned from Europe to China in 1658, after having come as procurator of the Chinese Missions.

[53] For a letter by Father Van Hame, Peking, August 28, 1721, see Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, Theil viii, 20, num. 197.

[54] Hong Kong.

[55] "From the administration of the Sacraments."

I had established as far as seventy leagues from this my residence. In it I spent fifty-four days, sometimes hearing confessions till after midnight. Through lack of missionary fathers in China, some of the missions are more than eighty and one hundred leagues from this residence. There are only two German fathers. One is named Father Kiliano Stimpt;[56] he is in Peki.[57] A glass kiln has been made, and he makes glass for the emperor. The other is named Father Gaspar Castner;[58] he is in the province of Canton. Of his Reverence the father visitor writes me the following: "Father Castner was three months alone in the island on which died San Francisco Xavier, building a fine sepulcher to San Xavier, costing about one hundred and fifty Roman crowns, or about one hundred and seventy Pataconcrowns, or *patacones*. He travelled all over the island and baptized many persons with singular successes, which merit a long account. Thus the new mission of San Francisco Xavier is already very well advanced and extended. The inhabitants of the island are barbarians, and formerly they were nearly all robbers, but now they have acquired a great veneration for the saint and for Father Castner himself, whom they carried through all their villages, with a great celebration and banquets and presents. Let thanks be given to God." This the father rector wrote in the last letter of this year, and in the Castilian language, for he is Milanese. I have no doubt the devotees of San Xavier will rejoice at this news.

Thus far Father Van Hame, from the metropolis of the province of Haquan[59] in Great China.

[56] Father Kilian Stumpf, visitor in China and a prominent mathematician. He died on July 24, 1720. See Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, Theil viii, 18, 21.

[57] Peking.

[58] For information regarding Father Caspar Castner, see Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, Theil iv, 9.

[59] Hong Kong.

CHAPTER XIV. OF THE LAST MONTHS OF THE YEAR 1703, AND OF THE BUILDING OF THE TWO NEW CHURCHES, THEIR EXPENSE, COST, AND VALUE

In the preceding chapter Father Van Hame and the father visitor note that in the island of Canton there was built for San Xavier a fine sepulcher costing one hundred and fifty *patacones* or *pesos*. Now, of the two new churches which were built this year and during some months of last year, each has a transept and two capacious chapels. Each has a chapel of the most glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, and each chapel would have cost more than five hundred *pesos*, or *patacos*; and the two churches would have cost about ten thousand *pesos* were it not for the fact that, thank the Lord and his celestial favors, through the fertility of the land of these new conversions, without the districts being pledged to a hundred *pesos*, the expenditures were reduced to five hundred beeves for consumption during the construction of these two buildings, five hundred *fanegas* of maize, and about three thousand *pesos* in clothing, which is the money used and current among the natives of these new conversions. These goods are acquired in the many places where there are traders, all over the province of Sonora, not to mention the many mining camps old and new, which there are in all these missions, old and new, in exchange for provisions, flour, maize, meat, lard, tallow, candles, etc., which the districts produce, as well as for the silver which some, or most, give for the said provisions. The timbers for the frames and flooring, which are very good and almost all of pine called royal, were cut and brought from the neighboring hills, at a distance of seven or eight leagues.

CHAPTER XV. OF THE DEDICATION OF THE TWO NEW CHURCHES OF THIS PIMERIA[60]

Ten years ago the first church of this Pimeria, which was that of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, was finished, and at the end of this year 1703, when my accustomed expeditions were hindered, we managed to dedicate the other two which we built, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Santiago de Cocospora; and although extraordinary occupations, contradiction, opposition, and a very needless suit[61] which was brought or attempted against us caused us to delay the two dedications of the new churches till after Christmas, the plans and the invitation to the dedications were for the day of San Xavier, December 3, the time of the dedication of the other. We accordingly invited various persons. The father visitor, Antonio Leal, in two letters dated November 19 and 20, wrote me the following:

> Your Reverence's celebration shall be whenever you please. I greatly rejoice at the many people which you have, and I charge and beseech you to return to those poor children my greetings, etc.

In the next letter, of the twenty-second, his Reverence writes to me thus:

> Your Reverence has chosen a very suitable day for the dedication of your churches. Your labor has been very great, and our Lord will repay you for it. Over here there is nothing new, except that it is said that the supply ships arrived last month; therefore the new government must have come. Nevertheless, I wrote yesterday to the father provincial, telling him of the state of the Pimeria, in order that his Reverence may dispose what I do not wish to finish, as I have scruples in case the

[60] Ortega gives a few lines to these dedications (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 312-313).

[61] Discussed at some length by Ortega, 313.

fathers procurators from Rome have come.[62] Perhaps he will send fathers from Europe.

Thus far the letters of the father visitor. Many other fathers and secular persons and the Señor alcalde, Juan Matheo Manje, and his predecessor, the Señor General Don Ycidro Ruis de Abechuco, and others, wrote almost the same as that which Captain Manuel de Almeida says in the following letter, giving thanks to our Lord that with new people in so short a time two such good churches should have been built.

I have received your Reverence's most amiable letter with greatest pleasure and most repeated thanks, and with prayers to God that you may live very many years in good health, and that he may give you life to build twenty temples, and that your Reverence may enjoy many years, etc.

CHAPTER XVI. OTHER PERSONS WHO DESIRE TO COME TO THESE DEDICATIONS, AND REGRETS THAT SOME FATHERS DO NOT COME TO THIS PIMERIA

General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente on November 10 wrote from the presidio of Janos the following:

I wish to assure your Reverence that I rejoice that our reverend father provincial is heeding my supplication and that of Captain Bezerra, and that his Reverence is sending some reverend fathers for the missions of this extensive Pimeria, whose reduction to our holy faith has cost so much labor, vigilance, and solicitude, the fact being that all this has borne fruit and has procured the propagation of the gospel, although there is no lack of opponents to an undertaking of so great importance to the service of the two Majesties. I regret that the laborers who have arrived in this province have been assigned to other missions and have not gone to that Pimeria, where they were so greatly needed.[63] May it be the divine Majesty's

[62] He means that he does not wish to undertake any new business so near the end of his term.

[63] See *ante*, page 38.

will that in all and through all your Reverence may witness the accomplishment of your desires and the success of your great labor, for I, as one so much interested and a friend of your Reverence, desire more than anyone else to see those extensive nations full of laborers, as the poor creatures desire, coming from places so far away to ask for holy baptism. And I rejoice that our ancient Pimeria is so quiet and obedient to the ministers of his Majesty, ecclesiastical as well as secular, which is as much as I desire. And I thank them, as is due. Therefore, on my behalf, your Reverence, I beseech you once and again to give my loving greetings to the children and to those who lovingly give them to me, and to say that I rejoice that they maintain themselves in all peace. Also, I have received great pleasure in the news which your Reverence was pleased to give me of the good condition of your Reverence's church of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, which, I have no doubt, since it has been the work of your Reverence's hand, must be one of the best of the province; also that of Cocospera. And if they have not been opened before I return from Cinaloa, I accept forthwith the invitation which your Reverence is pleased to extend to me, for, since I have a hand in that of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, I wish to have the pleasure of being at the dedications, and to serve your Reverence in so far as I can, and with the will and obligation which I owe, etc.

Thus far General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente. And Captain Antonio Becerra on November 30 writes as follows:

I am now very much pleased that your Reverence's first toils are being rewarded, and I give you hearty congratulations on the particular work which at the cost of your vigilance has been accomplished in the two churches. I shall be very glad if my cares and duties give me leisure to serve your Reverence in some way, etc.

Many others wrote other affectionate letters regarding the dedications, as well as regarding the coming of the father laborers.

CHAPTER XVII. OF THE COMING OF FATHER GERONIMO MINUTILI TO THIS PIMERIA

When all the good people and those favorable to new conversions were greatly regretting that father laborers did not come and enter into these new conversions whose harvests of souls are so extensive and so ripe, and when man born of woman had no reason to think that a new and unlooked for and unhoped for father laborer should come hither to the interior, Father Geronimo Minutili came to this Pimeria, this month of December, of his own accord, or to speak more truly, by disposition and control of the celestial favors of our Father, of which I am writing. He came from the conversions of the Californias, because it seemed to his Reverence that they were not expanding as much as his fervent spirit desired, while it seemed to him that over here in this Pimeria and in the other surrounding new nations there was a more extensive field, with more souls reduced and to be reduced,[64] in all directions, north, west, northeast, and northwest, to where one may pass by land to California itself, in the latitude of thirty-two degrees.

The father landed then, in Cinaloa, and came thence to Sonora to talk over things with the father visitor, Antonio Leal. His intention, according to the messages which his Reverence sent by my steward to me while on the way, was to come at once to this Pimeria from Sonora. We exchanged letters, and he went on to celebrate Christmas with Father Adamo Gilg, among the Mountain Seris of Santa Maria del Populo. Afterwards he came into Pimeria and to Nuestra Senora de los Dolores, and I went to meet him at the pueblo of

[64] It is also stated that he came for his health. Minutili's coming is mentioned by Ortega in *Apostólicos Afanes.*

Opodepe. Throughout the journey from Cinaloa to Sonora, and even to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, his Reverence encountered great opposition and many obstacles. But his Reverence, since he was sent and came more by divine than human disposition, was always very constant, not fearing any of the thousand difficulties and obstacles, which by so many routes and so repeatedly, and by plots so persistent, were placed in his way for almost an entire year.

BOOK III. FIRST MONTHS OF THE YEAR 1704; DEDICATIONS OF TWO NEW CHURCHES; EXPEDITION OR PEREGRINATION TO LOS GUAIMAS, ONE HUNDRED LEAGUES TO THE SOUTH

CHAPTER I. OF THE MONTH OF JANUARY, 1704, IN WHICH OCCURRED THE SOLEMN DEDICATION OF TWO NEW AND CAPACIOUS CHURCHES

The churches of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Santiago de Cocospera, as all who have seen them say, are among the best in all the provinces of Sonora, Sinaloa, Hiaqui, and Chinipas. They both have transepts, formed by two good chapels, with their arches. One of the two chapels of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios is dedicated to our father San Ygnacio and the other to the glorious Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier; and of the two chapels of Cocospora one is dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Loreto, and the other to San Francisco Xavier. Each church has on the arches of the two chapels which form the transept a high cupola, and each cupola has in the middle and above a sightly lantern.

On January 15 and 16 the church of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios was solemnly dedicated; and on the seventeenth we went on to the dedication of the church of Cocospera, which we held on the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth of January. The two dedications were performed by Father Rector Adamo Gilg and other fathers, with all the ceremonies and benedictions which our Holy Mother Church commands, according

to the holy Roman ritual. His Reverence chanted the two principal solemn masses, aided by the good choir of singers of the first church of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios; and the father rector, Adamo Gilg, preached very well in the Pima language, in the dedication of each of the churches. Both dedications were celebrated with the especial pleasure of all those who took part in them.

CHAPTER II. OF THE NATIVES AND OUTSIDERS WHO TOOK PART IN THESE DEDICATIONS

I having invited some fathers and other Spaniards, and some natives from the interior, although the weather was somewhat inclement and cold, and although there were some cases of illness which prevented the coming of some of the fathers, yet many natives from the interior, from the north, the west, and especially the northwest, were present at the two dedications, greatly to our pleasure. Many of them came more than one hundred leagues, as did the captain of the Yumas, with many of his people, and with some gifts of shells from the head of the Sea of California, and with very good messages from the very friendly people, and from the nations of the Quiquimas, Cutganes, and Coanopas, etc., nations on the land route to California. They sent their blue shells from the opposite coast and from the Sea of the South, where every year the China ship, or Manila galleon, is accustomed to come, and summoned me and other fathers to go to see them and to treat of their baptism and of their reduction of our holy Catholic faith.

And the blue shells from the opposite coast were a new argument for the passage by land to California, which was at thirty-two degrees of latitude, in spite of the contradiction of obstinate persons little inclined to

these new conversions. For it was contended that these natives were unable to cross a great arm of the sea which the opponents placed there instead of the land, over which they bring us the shells which are produced only on the opposite coast of California. There, clearly, we have the land route to California. So sure were we of the singular celestial favors which we experienced in the two dedications of these two new churches, that with great satisfaction to ourselves and to all the amiable guests the three following admirable sacred texts were confirmed: *Dicite in gentibus quia Dominus regnavit etenim correxitt orbem terræ*[65] (*Psalm* xcv), for many with great error delineated California as an island, though incorrectly, and drew a Sea of California where there is none, for it comes up no higher than to thirty-two and a half degrees. (II) *Terra aparuit arida et in Mari Rubro.*[66] Many call the Sea of California the Red Sea. *Via sine inpedimento,*[67] as chants our holy mother Church on the eighth of August and the day of the saints who have for their gospel (III) *Euntes in mundum unibersum. Predicate Evangelium omni creaturæ*, etc.[68]

CHAPTER III. ENTRY OF FATHER GERONIMO MINUTILI TO HIS NEW MISSION AND DISTRICT OF SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO DEL TUBUTAMA

As soon as the father rector, Adamo Gilg, Father Geronimo and Brother Juan Estaineser, and I, with many of the outsiders from parts so remote, had held the two dedications of the new churches, we took up the

[65] "Say ye among the Gentiles that the Lord hath reigned, for he hath corrected the world" (*Psalm* xcv, 10).

[66] "Dry land appeared even in the Red Sea" (*Wisdom*, xix, 7).

[67] "A way without hindrance" (*Wisdom*, xix, 7).

[68] "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel unto every creature" (*Mark*, xvi, 15).

matter of placing Father Geronimo in his new mission of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama. He went for this purpose to San Ygnacio and I came with the father rector to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The common enemy tried as always to place new obstacles in the way of this entry of Father Geronimo to his new district of El Tubutama, which is twenty-five leagues distant from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores toward the west. In the preceding weeks I had ordered the house repaired and a good field of wheat sown and a good garden leveled off and planted with various small trees of Castile, grape vines, peaches, pomegranates, fig trees, pear trees, and all kinds of garden produce.

Father Geronimo was very well received and was a great consolation to the many natives whom he found at El Tubutama, and his Reverence also was greatly pleased at seeing the people so affable, domestic, and docile, with their officers, servants, vestments with which to say mass, household furniture, sheep, and goats. The cattle and horses were still at San Ygnacio. We made plans for a good and spacious church and a house. I promised to build the church at my expense, and, leaving Father Geronimo in his new district I came by a different route, by way of El Saric, Busanic and Siboda, to Nuestra de los Dolores. And when I reported this our expedition to El Tubutama to Father Visitor Antonio Leal, his Reverence answered me with the following letter of February 13:

> I thank you heartily, and God will recompense your Reverence for the work of going to El Tubutama with Father Geronimo, as well as for the news that the father is pleased with the neophytes and they with him, for great comfort your Reverence has given me thereby, and also by the charity which you show the father in the aid and in the expense of building the church, as you promised him. All this is sowing in good

soil to reap a good harvest. The paymaster is trustworthy and powerful.

Thus far the father visitor.

CHAPTER IV. EXPEDITION PLANNED AGAINST THE ENEMY BUT WHICH, ON ACCOUNT OF THE DISCORD BETWEEN THE CAPTAINS, WAS NOT MADE

At this time, in the month of February, there were many enemies, and thefts of horses in various parts of the frontiers, and also in this Pimeria, at San Ygnacio, Cocospora, and Santa Maria Magdalena, where such enemies had never before entered. Reports were made from various places to the presidio, and from its lieutenant, Captain Don Gregorio Albares Tuñon y Quiros, the following letter, dated February 25, came to me:

> I am informed that there have been signs that the enemy have entered, but they have not carried off horses. Nevertheless, last month I was reconnoitering toward the north and toward the south, where I took away from them some horses which they were running off from Nacosari; and considering that what has been done is not sufficient and that help is needed, I have written to the alcalde mayor of San Juan to send me citizens for the eleventh of March when I shall set out with thirty soldiers to seek their ranchería. And now has come the time to accept the promise which your Reverence and your neophytes have given me to aid in the punishment of these enemies. Therefore I beg your Reverence to say in my name to the governors and war captains that I salute them, that I expect for the tenth of said month forty chosen Pimas, that I assure them that, God willing, we shall punish the enemy, etc.; that for the defense of each one of them I will risk my life; and that they must not fail me.

Thus far Captain Don Gregorio. I advised the children, and the governors of Los Remedios and Cocospora went at once, with all punctuality, to the presidio: but as the twenty citizens who had been asked of the Señor

alcalde mayor did not come, the expedition was not made, and our Pimas returned hither. And even worse were the many pleas and reports that all the year went even to the governor of Parral and to the viceroy. And for one reason or another the enemy committed the hostilities and damages which we shall see hereinafter, while I arranged for my journey to the Guaimas and their heathen neighbors.

CHAPTER V. LETTER OF THE FATHER RECTOR, JUAN MARIA SALVATIERRA, IN REGARD TO A PERUVIAN SHIP WHICH ARRIVES IN CALIFORNIA, AND TO OTHER WRECKED VESSELS

At this time I received the following letter from Father Rector Juan Maria Salvatierra, dated January 20, 1704.

> Heaven bless me, it has been months now since I have seen a letter from your Reverence, and since your Reverence has seen any from me. But several months ago I received a number from your Reverence, all together. But as they arrived late, I could not do anything in the matter of your desired expedition. In regard to it there is no recourse except to commend it to Our Lady, leader of our expedition made about three years ago concerning which I rejoice in memories so sweet, and my comfort is *et non est abreviata manus Dei.*[69] It is now no time for reproach. I thank your Reverence for the gift of flour, and of that often sent, which in time of need *placet et placebit* (pleases and will please). God will repay your Reverence therefor. The reason for my silence has been that a letter written to your Reverence was lost, and that afterwards we found ourselves here with a multitude of shipwrecked people from vessels which were fishing in these seas. All would have perished with all their pearls if they had not come here to the pearl of finest luster and flame. A little while ago the Peruvian frigate set sail, calked and repaired as well as possible, with forty mouths who

[69] *Et non est abreviata manus Dei ut salvare nequeat*: "The hand of the Lord is not shortened that it cannot save" (*Isaias*, lix, 1).

ate us out of house and home. Long live Jesus, long live Mary! Here we are continuing with the ordinary travails of new missions, which your Reverence knows better than I. But the consolation is, *sed vivent et pauperes Evangeli Sancti*[70] and the number [of converts] is increasing and the faith being extended. Only I have not been good, and so, your Reverence, commend me in truth to God, and receive many and very affectionate greetings from all the fathers, for all are rejoiced at your Reverence's honors. With all this I must close, commending myself to your holy prayers and sacrifices. Loreto Concho, January 20, 1704. Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA.

CHAPTER VI. MY JOURNEY OR EXPEDITION OF ONE HUNDRED LEAGUES TO THE SOUTHWARD TO THE GUAIMAS AND THE NEIGHBORING HEATHEN

After I had lived in California and had come from there sometimes to Hiaqui, having very friendly relations with the neighboring heathen Guaimas, I very much desired and solicited their conversion, because I considered it very advantageous to the conversion of California. And in fact, when I came fifteen years ago from Mexico to these new conversions, the plan was to begin them among the Guaimas. Afterward there was so great a field here that only three years ago the father visitor, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, went in his apostolic zeal to found that mission and new conversion of the Guaimas, most of whom spoke the Pima language. For some months Father Juan de Hugarte, who left the rectorate of Mexico to come to the more glorious and meritorious missions of California, has lived there by disposition of the father rector, Juan Maria Salvatierra. At that time there was found working apostolically among the Guaimas Father Francisco Maria Picolo,

[70] "But the poor of the Gospel shall live."

who after having been in Mexico and having printed the report of the good state of California, with the inserted royal, very Catholic, and most Christian *cédula* of his Majesty Philip V, God save him, which so greatly favors all the new conversions, returned to California and afterward came to that new conversion of San Joseph de los Guaimas. Already his Reverence and I had exchanged letters, saying that we should see each other, and how there was a short and direct road, although among heathen and still unexplored and untravelled. I tried to open up this new road, because the other, by way of the Yaqui River, over which a few weeks before I had sent fifteen loads of flour as an alms for California, ran more than sixty leagues out of the way.

On March 25, the third day after Easter, I set out in the afternoon from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores for San Joseph de los Guaimas, having performed in the morning thirteen solemn baptisms, some of the many Spaniards who had come here from the neighboring new mining camp of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad to keep holy week, to comply with their religious obligations, and to keep Easter, acting as godfathers. After eight days' journey, on April 2 I arrived, thank God, safely at San Joseph de los Guaimas.[71]

CHAPTER VII. MY ARRIVAL AT SAN JOSEPH DE LOS GUAYMAS; AND THE HEATHEN DISCOVERED ON THIS NEW AND DIRECT ROAD

By means of the good equipment and the favors shown me in their great charity by Father Rector Adamo Gil in Santa Maria del Populo and Father Juan de San

[71] Kino's route is made plainer by Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 314), who tells us that he went by Opodepe, Nacameri, and Santa Maria del Populo, thus avoiding the roundabout way by the Yaqui.

Martin[72] in San Francisco and La Santissima Trinidad del Pitiquin,[73] I went in the short space of eight days these one hundred leagues from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to San Joseph de Guaymas, a harbor of the sea of California. In the last and somewhat less inhabited fifty leagues of this hitherto not very much traveled road, and particularly in the post or station which they called El Cerro Grande, I found among the very affable heathen three or four Christian Indians who from fear of punishment by stripes had taken refuge among these retreats, and I tried to get them to go back with me on my return to their pueblos of Christians. To all these heathen I preached the Christian faith, and found them very docile and affable, and that with the good shepherds of souls which they need, God willing, all with ease can be reduced to pueblos, with churches for their eternal salvation.

When, on April 2, I arrived, thank God, safely at San Joseph de Guaymas, I found that Father Francisco Maria Picolo had gone on business to the neighboring missions of the Rio de Yaqui. The children of San Joseph de Guaymas, who were more than five hundred in number, and some of whom spoke the Pima language and others the Seri, received me with all kindness. I wrote immediately of my arrival to Father Francisco Maria Picolo and to the other fathers of Hyaqui, all of whom asked me to go on to their missions, even to Torin.[74] But the necessity of returning as soon as possible to this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores prevented me from making that journey, and, consequently, Father Francisco Maria Picolo came to San

[72] Father San Martin formerly had been sent to Guebavi. See volume i, 303.

[73] This is evidently Pitiqui or Pitic, the early name for Hermosillo.

[74] Torin is in the lower Yaqui Valley.

Joseph de los Guaymas, and I welcomed him with very great satisfaction on my part.[75]

So much did he desire it, as I could see, and because of his self effacement, I catechized and baptized many of them, now native catechumens, for most of them spoke the Pima language and were Pimas like those of this extensive Pimeria which Father Rector Adamo Gil used to call the Pimeria Alta. With these ministries and with the inspection of the very pretty and suitable posts (one had the corral for the cattle, and I noted that from it they could be embarked alive to be taken over to the very nearby California), I was detained three days, with great consolation to myself at seeing so great an opportunity to obtain much glory for our Lord, the salvation of so many souls, and the advantage of splendid fishing-grounds, salt-beds, lands, gardens, cattle, sheep, goats, and a church and house which are being successfully built.

CHAPTER VIII. MY RETURN FROM SAN JOSEPH DE GUAYMAS TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES, WHENCE GIFTS ARE SENT BY THE NEW ROAD FOR THE GUAYMAS AND FOR CALIFORNIA

Having been with Father Francisco Maria Picolo four days, with very great pleasure to myself, and having conferred with regard to the succor which from these neighboring posts could easily be sent to the new missions of the neighboring California, and in regard to the mode of securing the necessary missionary fathers for fields so extensive and containing so many heathen souls of all this vast North America, of this mainland and of the neighboring California, Baja and Alta,

[75] The meaning is not clear at this point.

I took leave of his Reverence and of the fathers of Hyaqui, and of the very beloved children and natives of San Joseph de Guaymas, and turned back toward this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. On the way I found very many other new heathen, who came out to see me from their more remote retreats. I preached to them the principal mysteries of our holy Catholic faith, and since all knew the Pima language, I encouraged them to assemble in suitable places, whither missionary fathers could come to them for their eternal salvation. And they promised me that when fathers should be given them they would assemble and would form good missions at the very good post of the old mining camp of San Marzial, or wherever the father might wish. I arrived at La Santisima Trinidad del Pitiquin, and at San Francisco, pueblos which Father Juan de San Martin was administering, where I received a thousand kindnesses from his Reverence, as also the two following days at Santa Maria de Populo from Father Rector Adamo Jil.

And with various letters which meanwhile had come from Mexico and from Europe, as I shall state in the following chapters, I went on to the Valley of Sonora, to Father Visitor Antonio Leal. Afterwards I arrived at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, whence I sent various gifts by a Spaniard by this direct and short road to San Joseph de Guaymas. Among them was a canvas or painting, with a gilt frame, of the most glorious San Joseph, which, as Father Francisco Maria Picolo wrote me in his most courteous letter, was placed on the high altar of the new church of San Joseph de Guaimas. I sent also some trifles and letters for the fathers of California.

BOOK IV. NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES AND OF THE MISSIONS, WITH THE COMING FROM EUROPE TO THIS NEW SPAIN OF A NEW FATHER VISITOR GENERAL AND VICE PROVINCIAL, MANUEL PINEYRO; NEW ROYAL CÉDULA, WITH THE NEW AID OF THIRTEEN THOUSAND PESOS FOR CALIFORNIA: SOME VERY SINISTER OPPOSITION TO THESE NEW CONVERSIONS; AND THE GOING OF FATHER JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA FROM CALIFORNIA TO MEXICO

CHAPTER I. FIRST LETTERS AND NEWS WHICH ARRIVED AT THIS NEW CONVERSION OF THE COMING OF THE FATHER VISITOR, MANUEL PINEYRO; AND A LETTER WHICH HIS REVERENCE WROTE TO ME

On coming from San Joseph de Guaymas, on the way from Sonora as well as upon my arrival at this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, I found various letters from Mexico and Rome. Among them were two most kind ones from our Father General Thyrsso Gonzalez, and one from the new father visitor general, Manuel Pineyro, in regard to these missions. The preceding father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, had appointed and assigned me as rector of this rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (for although I made a nomination for the charge they did not listen to me), and so his Reverence, in writing to me in regard to a

rector and to giving me a successor under a new government, charged me and wrote me in his own hand, among other kindnesses and other holy paternal matters, that I should name my successor, etc. And although I afterward made a nomination, this suggestion was not heeded nor my proposal accepted. But I continued to remain, and God willing, shall always remain more desirous and fond of living without such charges, and with the religious freedom to attend to the welfare of these innumerable, poor, and needy souls of this vast North America, and of advancing their salvation by all possible methods and means, by word, by writing, or otherwise, than of acting in the capacity of superior, or reporting about other persons and their work, when there is so much to do, and in a matter of so great scruple and care, and of having each year to give an account of their persons to our Lord. And said father visitor Manuel Pineyro assigned and appointed all the father rectors of missions as well as of all the colleges and all the provinces of New Spain.

CHAPTER II. NEW ROYAL *CÉDULA* OF PHILIP V, GOD SAVE HIM, IN REGARD TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF CALIFORNIA

At the same time, in the months of April and May of 1704, different letters came to me, among them being one from Father Francisco Maria Picolo in regard to the very Catholic new royal *cédula* of his Majesty Philip V, God save him, which in the preceding months had arrived at Mexico. In it thirteen thousand *pesos* more were very charitably appropriated for thirty additional soldiers for California.[75a] And Gen-

[75a] In 1703 Fathers Rolandegui and Vera presented a memorial to the king regarding California. On June 16 it was considered in council, the king being present in person. As a result five decrees were issued on September

eral Juan Matheo Manje, who a little before had been alcalde mayor of all this province of Sonora, in the Real de San Juan, with very Catholic magnanimity offered himself as captain of the soldiers, and to aid with his very Christian zeal in the advancement of all the new conversions, those oversea in California, as well as those of the Pimas in this mainland, and of the land route to California, and of the large volumed and very populous Colorado River. But afterwards all these good intentions were in part frustrated, since on account of the heavy expenses of the many European wars the royal chests were unable to give the above mentioned thirteen thousand pesos which the royal *cédula* granted. Nevertheless, our Lord willed that the glorious and apostolic new conquest, new conversion, and new Christian community, which, through the indefatigable holy zeal and untiring blessed administration, care, and labor of those apostolic Californian missionary fathers has not lacked the necessary aid of the several very pious benefactors, should be very well supported. For when some have withdrawn their hands, the celestial divine providence has disposed that in others Christian piety and charity should not be lacking, as can be gathered from the following chapter.

CHAPTER III. THAT TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL GOODS ARE MULTIPLIED FOR THE BENEFACTORS OF THE NEW CONVERSIONS

The father rector, Melchor Bartiromo, benefactor of the new conquest and new conversions of California, recognizes clearly and distinctly and is accustomed to say that on one occasion when he had sent twenty loads

28, 1703. One of them added seven thousand *pesos* to the California subsidy of six thousand and ordered a vessel purchased (Chapman, *Founding of Spanish California*, 21).

of provisions to Hayaqui for California, as he had promised them, and, because the weather was somewhat severe it appeared that through the shipment some want of provisions might be occasioned in his districts, he saw those twenty loads plainly multiplied, and more besides, among his troops, without their experiencing the least poverty or lack of them in their houses.

The same has happened to me on several occasions, for I have aided new conversions, in California as well as over here in this mainland, and the holy Mother of the province, our Lady, with her most merciful and great providence, has multiplied and increased for me the temporal goods by the bountiful harvests of wheat, maize, cattle, wine for masses, cane, plums, gardens, etc., and even the heathen and the new nations, without my asking them anything or speaking a word to them in regard to the matter, have made for me good fields and good harvests of wheat, maize, beans, watermelons, melons, and pumpkins, and have given me cattle, sheep, and goats in abundance in various good districts of the interior, near and remote. And it is well verified that what we give to the poor in pious causes, that shall we have in this life and for all eternity, and that what we do not give that shall we lose. It is notorious, moreover, that in some cases those who have given little and even refused to aid the new conversions of California, either in part or altogether, have lost the plentiful harvests which they were accustomed to have. And one of the very Catholic kings of Spain and of the Indies, in one of his very Christian *cédulas*, commands, to this end, that the necessary expenditures be not spared, because as his royal Majesty says, he recognizes clearly that for what is spent for such purposes our

Lord always returns great increase to his royal crown.[76]

Therefore, there has not failed, nor fails now, nor, God willing, shall fail what is necessary either for the new conversions of California or for the rest which they may wish to undertake for the service of his divine Majesty or for the welfare of the souls redeemed with the most precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. And thus the sovereign Lord aids us most liberally and very continually with many means, temporal and spiritual, in these new Pima conversions, as we very joyfully acknowledge. And yet, although I have reported the many missionary fathers whom we have needed and asked for, and whom the father provincials and generals promise to us, and have even sent several times and continue to send in goodly number, the contradiction and opposition here impedes, prevents, and detains them from us. But we confidently hope in the loving disposition of our Lord that in his time there will come in so much the greater numbers the zealous father laborers necessary, predestined for the entire conquest and conversion of all this unknown North America, which with so much peace, quiet, and constancy is asking the boon of its eternal salvation.

CHAPTER IV. OF SOME NEW AND CALUMNIOUS HOSTILITY AND OPPOSITION TO THE NEW CONVERSIONS

The common enemy of all good, and especially of the salvation of souls, by means of some persons unfavorable to these new conversions, who already on many other occasions had opposed them, although always very wrongly, to advance their own cause and that of

[76] The reference is to the *cédula* at the opening of this work, volume i, page 108.

the common enemy, bruited it about that the natives of this Pimeria were so evil natured that they were plotting to kill one of the missionary fathers. At the same time Captain Don Antonio Bezerra (with twenty soldiers of the presidio of Janos selected for incorporation with the fifty soldiers of this presidio of Sonora, whose captain, Don Jacinto de Fuen Saldaña, was very discreet), himself at once argued and maintained that it was one of the usual idle and calumnious speeches of those ill-disposed to this Pima nation. Nevertheless, extended investigations were made in regard to the matter, but no trace whatever was found of the least alteration or evil intention of any of these Pima natives, nor had it entered into the thoughts of any of them to wish to kill or injure their missionary fathers or the captain of the presidio, Don Jacinto de Fuen Saldaña, who because of his very Christian, Catholic, and charitable qualities, has always been greatly beloved by all the Pima nation, and has advanced and defended it in everything lawful. These Pimas, according to their obligation, have in turn always cherished, loved, esteemed, and venerated the said Captain Don Jacinto and his soldiers, and especially their father ministers who have come, and have solicited others whom they lack and need. And with these refutations, after satisfactorily clearing up the calumnious charges that these Pimas were altered when they were not so, but most quiet, peaceful, and affable, Captain Don Antonio Vezerra returned to his presidio of Janos with his twenty soldiers, and all good people were astounded at so many wiles used by the common enemy to destroy and hinder the welfare of souls.

CHAPTER V. ANOTHER VERY GRAVE CALUMNY AGAINST THE GOVERNOR OF MY THIRD PUEBLO OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL PILAR DE COCOSPERA AND AGAINST THE WELFARE OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

Captain Christobal Granillo de Salazar, deputy alcalde mayor at the Real de Bacanuchi, on September 13 of this year, 1704, wrote me the following, naming for me the three disaffected pueblos whence issued these calumnies and wherein he was not given entire credit:

> Some gossip is current here, and I shall appreciate it if your Reverence will tell me the truth of the matter, so that the wicked enemy may not accomplish his purpose of disturbing these new conversions. It is to the effect that the governor of Cocospera said that with the staff of office he was not a man, but that with weapons he was, and that he had withdrawn to the mountains to assemble men to attack some place.[77]

This calumny was noised about in such a manner that in a letter of September 17 the father visitor, Antonio Leal, wrote me the following:

> Over here it is said that the governor of Cocospera has sent your Reverence the staff of office, saying that he intended to avenge the death of his kinsfolk, and that he had revolted with all Cocospera. I beg your Reverence for information.

And I, knowing how foreign to all charity were all these darnels, proceeded at once to summon the said governor of Cocospera with his two sons, one, named Matias, who is a fiscal, and the other, called Joseph, who is steward of my supplies at Cocospera. As both were good cowboys, all these preceding weeks they had helped me to deliver two hundred cattle to Captain Don Geronimo Colonmo.

On September 20 I went with the said governor of

[77] Ortega summarizes these points on pages 314-315 of the *Apostólicos Afanes.*

Cocospera and his two sons to the neighboring pueblo of Cucurpe that his calumniators might see him and be satisfied in the presence of many Spaniards; and we were on the point of going to Tuape to see the father rector and even to the Valley of Sonora to see the father visitor, that all might be satisfied that it had been a mere calumny which unjustly had been raised against the innocent governor of Cocospera, who has several good papers by the various alcalde mayors, as captain-general of these new conversions, and is called Francisco Pacheco, because of having been the godson of the Captain Francisco Pacheco Zevallos, and of having been his warm friend ever since he lived in heathendom. The Spaniards, however, prevented our going to Tuape and Sonora, and said that they would there satisfy the father rector and the father visitor and the alcalde mayor in regard to the innocence and loyalty of the governor of Cocospera.

The lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuchi wrote me the following:

> I have always been confident that this about the governor of Cocospera is false, and that they are powder-flashes and whirlwinds of lies, whose source your Reverence knows. I never have given them credit; and I said so when, coming from Sonora, I met those who gave me these reports; for whenever they go forth I find nothing but confusion and calumniation of these poor Pima friends.

Thus far the Señor lieutenant.

CHAPTER VI. NEW EVIDENCE OF THE LOYALTY OF THE PIMAS AND THAT IT IS THE HOSTILE APACHES WHO COMMIT THE RAVAGES AGAINST THIS PROVINCE

The above mentioned Señor lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuchi, Christoval Granillo de Salazar, in a letter of the eighth of October, giving me an account in the presence of his only son, Antonio, writes the following:

> The news current here in regard to the enemies who killed the soldiers and the sons of Mexico are that Don Gregorio,[78] the lieutenant of the presidio, set out with the soldiers, waited for them in the Sierra del Chiguicagui, came upon them, killed five Apache enemies, and took away seventy-six horses and the arms of the soldier who had died. I do not ask a reward from your Reverence for the news that they are Apaches, and not Pimas, as the disaffected are accustomed to calumniate, because I ought to give it, since now the erroneous impression under which up to the present many were laboring, and gossip which was beginning to be current, such as those little interested are always accustomed to utter, are being dissipated. And these[79] have been they who have committed the murders in Tuape and in other places, as is shown by their great daring when they met with the soldiers, for they fought as valorous men on a plain in open battle. The Apaches were sixteen and the soldiers eighteen. May our Lord always bring the truth to light.

Thus far the Señor lieutenant. Now, when almost at the same time our Pimas had also won their victories over the above mentioned Apache enemies, taking captive some non-combatants, etc., in a letter of October Father Rector Adamo Jil[80] writes me from Matape the following:

> I greatly rejoice that so quickly and unexpectedly the imagined or feigned revolt has gone up in smoke; for, although I

[78] Gregorio Álvarez Tuñon.

[79] *I.e.*, the Apaches.

[80] Gilg.

did not know of this particular difficulty, I was, however, very sorry when I saw in writing that a great blow was feared in the Pimeria. Now, my Father Kino, good courage, for my great desire, intention, and design is, to go to San Jabier del Gran Bac of the Pimas, setting out shortly from Matape, (*Faxint, Superi ett Superiores*).[81]

And in another and earlier letter his Reverence says the following:

That the non-combatants whom the Pimas brought have not been by any means few, and that the victory has been notable. Blessed be God, who again has rescued the Pimas, proving that they are not such as they wish perforce to make them out.

Thus far the father rector of Matape, Adamo Jil. Captain Don Gregorio Albarez Tuñon y Quiros, from the presidio of this province writes that never will there be a lack of false witnesses, but that we must take care that the truth be upheld.

CHAPTER VII. LETTERS OF FATHER FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO AND FATHER ANTONIO CAPUZ[82] IN REGARD TO THE GOING OF THE FATHER RECTOR FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO (I MEAN JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA) FROM CALIFORNIA TO MEXICO

Father Francisco Maria Picolo from San Joseph de Guaymas on October 20 of this year 1704, wrote me the following long letter:

MY MOST BELOVED FATHER HEUSSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO. Father, this serves to inform your Reverence that Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra, owing to pressure of time has gone via Matanchel for Mexico, without touching this coast, to his Reverence's great grief and mine; but this is the will of the Lord, who always provides what is best. His reverence wrote me commanding and asking me that notwithstanding all the

[81] "May the gods and the superiors grant it."

[82] Father Marcos Antonio Kapus. For a note concerning him see volume i, 126.

orders promulgated by the father visitor, Manuel Pineyro, for my return to California, I should remain at this new mission of San Joseph de Guaymas until the return of his Reverence from Mexico, and that he would bring persons suitable for this mission.[83] The letters of your Reverence were sent to Mexico by a messenger. The Alferez Juan Baupptista de Escalante set out from this port of California yesterday, the nineteenth instant. His Honor went, summoned by the father rector, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, as commander or captain of that presidio.[84] He could not make the suggestion by word of mouth to the Señor Don Juan Matheo Manje, therefore he made it in writing. In regard to the cattle which the very liberal charity of your Reverence has offered for a new mission, we shall not be able to make any arrangements until the return of Father Juan Maria. If he had not gone to Mexico his Reverence would have sent me the itinerary; but it was not the will of the Lord. Be assured, your Reverence, I have such confidence in the Lord that in the Pimeria and California, after the passing of the persecutions our advancement is going to be *Ad mayorem Dei Gloriam* (to the greater praise and glory of the Lord), in spite of some who are zealous for temporal goods, and for their own persons more than for the spiritual welfare of themselves and of these poor Indians.

Be not cast down, your Reverence, for God has chosen the apostles for Pimeria and for California. I remain, then, in this mission, with the same spiritual joy as if it were in my beloved California. May His Divine Majesty accept my submission to the will of my superiors. I wish your Reverence were here. Thanks be to the Lord, there is sufficient means of sustenance, proper and good, for a new mission. I wish that your Reverence could help me with a little flour. I desire to eat bread, I have an oven, and your Reverence's mules have returned with salt and fish. Look what increase Father Francisco Maria has.

[83] Salvatierra had now been appointed provincial.

[84] For former work by Escalante see references in the "Index." At the special request of Salvatierra, Escalante, then alférez of the presidio of Nacosari, in Sonora, went to succeed Estévan Lorenzo, a Portuguese, as captain of the presidio of Loreto. Venegas calls Escalante "a soldier of great valor and credit against the Apaches" (Venegas, *Noticia de la California*, vol. ii, 150).

The fault[85] is yours, for your Reverence's great and excessive charity. I salute your steward of California, and I desire to see and know him. Diego Fernandez kisses the hands of your Reverence, for whom I desire much spiritual comfort and health, for the Glory of the Lord and the salvation of so many souls.

Thus far Father Maria Picolo. And Father Marcos Antonio Capuz from his mission of Aribachi[86] writes me on October 29 the following:

Father Rector Juan Maria de Salbatierra embarked for Mantanchel at the beginning of the present month, in a diver's bark, and his Reverence did not come to Hyaqui, writing that it was necessary for him to be brief and make haste, on account of the importunities which lately had been made to him from Mexico that he make the voyage. Alferez Excalante, although he went at once to California in a launch, did not overtake his Reverence; and Father Juan de Ugarte has the cattle.

Thus far Father Marcos Antonio Capuz.

CHAPTER VIII. A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN JUAN BAUTISTA DE ESCALANTE FROM HIS NEW CAPTAINCY IN CALIFORNIA, DATED OCTOBER 22. ON THE SAME DAY FATHER VISITOR DON MANUEL PINEYRO DIED IN MEXICO

DEATH OF THE FATHER VISITOR, MANUEL PINEYRO. Having been soldier and alférez of this presidio of Sonora or Flying Company (as the Señor Viceroy Conde de Galbes founded and designated it in the year 1695), Captain Juan Baupptista de Escalante went, called by the father rector, Juan Maria de Salbatierra, to the captaincy of California, whence on October 23 he wrote me the following letter:

MY VERY REVEREND FATHER, ETC., I write to tell your Reverence of my arrival at this new kingdom of California,

[85] A playful remark. He means "the credit is yours."

[86] Arivechi (Aribachi) is on the Río de Sahuaripa, about thirty miles from its junction with the Río Yaqui.

where I find myself with much pleasure in the company of the reverend fathers Juan de Ugarte, Juan Manuel de Zafaldua,[87] and Pedro de Ugarte, who at present are engaged in this undertaking. May the Lord protect us and grant his blessing for the advancement of these poor souls who now are coming into the knowledge of our holy faith. I did not have the pleasure of seeing our very reverend Father Rector Juan Maria de Salbatierra. I received the letter of his Reverence only after having arrived at the Yaqui River. In it he told me he was leaving in his place Father Juan de Ugarte, whom he left with orders to give me the captaincy, and I took possession of it on the twenty-second of October, with the formal title. It[88] and my person are ready to obey the mandates of your Reverence. I do not give more extensive news of what has occurred over here, because I have not yet left this first settlement of Loreto, etc.

Thus far Captain Juan Baupptista de Escalante; and the same day, October 22, occurred the death of the father visitor, Manuel Pineyro, as Father Marcos Antonio Capuz wrote me in the following letter:

On October 22, Father Visitor Don Manuel Pineyro died. The Father Provincial of the Augustinian friars, Fray Diego de la Cadena, conducted the obsequies and the burial, in the presence of all the religious and of all Mexico. The mail was opened, and immediately a post was set to meet Father Juan Maria de Salbatierra, who had set out from Guadalaxara on October 26, and the post, missing the father on the road, arrived at Guadalaxara on the first of November, and immediately returned to Mexico; and there is no doubt that now Father Juan Maria de Salbatierra is provincial.

Thus far Father Marcos Antonio Kapus.

[87] Basaldua, Juan Manuel.

[88] The company of soldiers.

CHAPTER IX. LETTER OF CAPTAIN DON GREGORIO ALBAREZ TUÑON Y QUIROS, SAYING THAT, RECONNOITERING THE FRONTIERS, HE IS COMING TO THE PIMERIA; AND OUR CHRISTMAS CELEBRATION IN THE NEW PUEBLO OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL PILAR DE COCOSPERA

On September 17 of this year, 1704, Captain Don Gregorio Albarez Tuñon y Quiros from his presidio of Corodeguachi wrote me the following letter:

> My delay, your Reverence, has been on account of my inability to go in person to give thanks to your Reverence for the service which you wish to do to his Majesty in arranging that the Pimas shall accompany me on the campaign. And now, although I am awaiting two posts, one from Mexico and another from Parral, I have determined to set out to reconnoiter the vicinity of Terenate and to come to this your Reverence's pueblo of Cocospera, where I hope we shall see each other and I will report. My zeal is that the Pimas may be well thought of, and it has seemed well to me to dispatch the bearers to give this notice to your Reverence and to ask that you will please dispatch it at once to the lieutenant of those Pimas, whom I summon also, that we may meet in said Pueblo of Cocospera. And, God willing, I shall set out from here without fail on Thursday. I beseech your Reverence to provide for me five loads of flour.

Thus far Captain Don Gregorio, in the letter which he dispatched to me by two soldiers. And in order that the proper arrangements for this expedition and campaign which he had determined to make in the company of many Pimas might be better effected, on the twenty-fifth of the month of January next following I determined to go, and I went, to celebrate the feast of the Nativity at my third pueblo of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Cocospera, whither came the said Captain Don Gregorio Albarez with many soldiers, and the lieutenant of this Pimeria and I. And there were pres-

ent at the Christmas celebration and at the very good new church and house of that pueblo, not only the natives of my three pueblos, but also a great concourse of captains and governors from the interior,[89] from the north as well as from the northeast and the northwest. There were all the ceremonies which are usual in well ordered parishes. A sermon was preached in the language of the natives, and in Castilian there were many confessions and communions, among them that of Captain Don Gregorio, who by his good example edified and encouraged others to partake of this Holy Sacrament. There was a good choir of singers; many natives were catechized and baptized; and there were marriages according to the rites of the church, with dances and entertainments and good food for all. And many things profitable for the welfare and advancement of these new conversions and for the good of this province were determined, although the accustomed obstacles were not lacking. One of them was that of which the lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuchi wrote me in a letter of December 26 in these words:

> I bring to your Reverence's notice the fact that the enemies of Mabobabi came out against two soldiers, Juan Mazon and Antonio de Barrios, and an Indian who was carrying clothing for Father Bassilio, and wrought their treachery as always. They killed the two soldiers, but the Indian escaped through the intervention of God. They carried off the clothing and spoils of the soldiers and the horses. They say there are signs that enemies are coming in by way of Chinapas and Monte Grande.

Thus far the Señor lieutenant of the Real de Bacanuchi, Christobal Granillo de Salazar.

[89] That is, Indian captains and governors.

PART IV

OF THE CELESTIAL FAVORS OF Jesus, Most Holy Mary, and the Most Glorious Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Jabier, Experienced in the New Conquests and New Conversions of this Pimeria and the Surrounding New Nations of this Province of Sonora, in New Spain, North America, in the Years 1705 and 1706

PROLOGUE TO THE CHARITABLE READER

Having written the three preceding parts of these *Celestial Favors*, three years ago, in the midst of my many occupations as well as the various obstacles and the opposition which our Lord permitted in these new conversions, and, thirdly, with uncertainty as to the destination which they might reach, or whether or not these papers would be of any use, I discontinued the writing of this treatise until the present year of 1709, when I am receiving new letters from our Father General Miguel Anjel Tamburini, as well as from other fathers and persons of dignity, which move me to continue the undertaking. The very paternal and holy letter of our father general contains these words:

> I heartily rejoice that your Reverence may continue your treatise on those missions entitled *Celestial Favors*, the first part of which you sent us here. I hope to receive the other two parts which your Reverence promises, and that they may all be approved in Mexico, in order that they may be published. The news which your Reverence gives me fills me with joy, and with the desire to repay the anxieties and glorious labors of your Reverence and of your companions. Here the wars, etc., detain our missionaries, etc.

Thus far our father general. Father Fernando Bayerca wrote me recently that he had just received a new book printed in Paris in the French language in the year 1705 with a new map of these new conquests, conversions, and discoveries, with the title *Passage by Land to California, discovered by the Reverend Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, where also are seen the New*

Missions of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus,[90] *etc.* He rejoiced greatly at the discovery of the land route to California. The coming of the father visitor of Taraumares, Antonio de Herrera, to these missions of Sonora and to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, consoled and encouraged us greatly, for he solemnized many baptisms and marriages, and promised the captains and governors from the interior who were here the missionary fathers whom with tender insistence they asked of him. During the course of his visit Father Francisco Maria Picolo wrote me that his Reverence had very great and confident hopes that in proportion as the persecutions of California and this Pimeria were many, their promotion and advancement must be very promising, for such has been the experience of all the greater missions.

And especially the present father provincial, Juan de Estrada,[91] as well as other prominent fathers, and other men, seculars, have held the same opinion, namely, that in their time these new conversions were to make great progress, for, although in the space of twenty-three years since these new missions were begun the many fathers who have been needed have not come, the father provincials have always sent them, but human opposition has taken them away, or else the divine sovereign providence of our Lord takes them. As Father Fran-

[90] The reference is of course to the Kino map printed in Le Gobien's *Lettres Édifantes*, of which there are several editions. The title in the 1705 edition is *Passage par terre a la Californie Decouvert par le Rev. Pere Eusebe-François Kino Jesuite depuis 1698, jusqu'a 1701 ou l'on voit encore les Nouvelles Missions des PP. de la Compage. de Jesus.*

[91] On November 3, 1707, the former provincial died. Immediately the instructions in *casu mortis* were opened and Juan de Estrada, provost of the Casa Profesa, was found named in it (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 149-150). He was succeeded by Antonio Jardón, who was appointed early in 1708 (*idem*, 153).

cisco Maria Picolo writes, and as Father Visitor Horazio Polize has asserted, He will be able to send in His own good time the fathers predestined and chosen for so blessed a ministry for the welfare of so many souls. For, although here this opposition exists and has existed, yet, all these new conversions are always in a state of continued peace and quietude, and show constant perseverance in desiring and asking for missionary fathers and holy baptism. And, thanks to the sovereign Lord, the teaching of the holy law of our holy Catholic faith is ever prosperously extending more and more, and securing in great numbers catechumens and those who desire to receive the boon of their eternal salvation.

BOOK I. NEW GOVERNMENT. FATHER PROVINCIAL JUAN MARIA DE SALBATIERRA; FIRST AND SECOND PERSECUTIONS OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS IN THE FIRST MONTHS OF THIS YEAR 1705, AND THE GOOD SUCCESS WITH WHICH OUR LORD, WITH HIS CELESTIAL FAVORS, IS PLEASED TO BRING US FORTH IN SAFETY FROM THEM

CHAPTER I. OF THE ARRIVAL OF FATHER JUAN MARIA DE SALBATIERRA FROM CALIFORNIA AT MEXICO, WHERE HIS REVERENCE ENTERS AS FATHER PROVINCIAL OF THIS NEW SPAIN

One of the principal persons of this province of Sonora wrote me the following letter:

> I sent the report which we, the friends of the common good and of the province, etc., have made and signed, with a mind to present it to the higher authorities, because I believe that God our Lord favors the interests of your Reverence and of those new conversions, and frustrates the mischievous designs of the adversaries. Therefore I shall now tell you why I ask a reward, and it is that Joachin de Mora has just arrived from Mexico with the news that the father visitor general, Father Manuel Pineyro, has died; and during the illness of which he died he wrote to the father rector, Juan Maria, by a messenger who arranged to meet the courier in Guadalaxara. The purport of it was that Father Rector Juan Maria should accelerate and hasten his journey to Mexico, for he had many matters to communicate to him pertaining to and concerning the religious and conversions. Although his Reverence went post-haste, he found him already dead; but he left in writing

the disposition of affairs and the order that Father Juan Maria should take his place as visitor general and provincial.

And Father Marcos Antonio Capuz wrote that immediately a courier was sent out to meet Father Juan Maria de Salbatierra, who left Guadalaxara on October 26. The courier, missing the said father on the way, arrived at Guadalaxara on November 1, and immediately returned to Mexico, where the father provincial, Juan Maria de Salbatierra, governed and visited the province until he returned again to California. And from California he went a second time to Mexico, and from Mexico, leaving as his successor Father Provincial Bernardo de Rolandegui, he returned a third time to California, as shall be written in full in the proper time and place.

CHAPTER II. OF THE FIRST AND VERY GREAT PERSECUTION WHICH OCCURRED IN THESE THREE MONTHS OF JANUARY, FEBRUARY, AND MARCH, ESPECIALLY AGAINST THIS PUEBLO OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES

An indiscreet lieutenant gave out that from this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores we had sent the justices to draw the Indians from some pueblos to add them to others, even ourselves offering gifts therefor.[92] In view of this they accused and persecuted and molested us very sorely, and the royal justice, the said lieutenant, accompanied by others, came repeatedly, violently and with great harshness, many stripes, and serious threats of hanging, of death, etc., and took from us many Indians, more than ninety on one occasion alone. The justices and the governor of this pueblo said that neither by gifts nor in any other way had we

[92] Ortega summarizes the episode on page 315 of the *Apostólicos Afanes*. He calls the lieutenant "equally haughty, greedy, and cowardly."

taken those Indians from other pueblos, but that of their own accord, for very good reasons which they alleged, free as they were, they had moved to the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. It was decided to take them aside and ask them whether they had been brought here by gifts, or coaxed, and where or in which of the pueblos they would rather live; and all except three, two of whom afterward remained, said that no one coaxed or sent for them, but that they had all moved to this pueblo of their own free will, and asked that they be left here in quietude, where they were quite content. Nevertheless, after some days many of these poor natives were taken away in my absence, with much violence and with insults, harsh punishment with stripes and threats of death, etc. But most of them, after a little time, would return to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where they are found to this day.

The persecution passed on, even to the interior, where we had, and, thanks be to God, we still have in prosperity some very good missions begun, with what is necessary for the new fathers, who, by God's help, were living with good beginnings of Christian doctrine and of baptisms, with houses in which to live, with cattle, sheep, goats, and horses, with fields and crops of wheat, maize, beans, etc. Our people were greatly afflicted, for this indiscreet lieutenant wished to remove them from their very convenient posts and very rich lands, to take them for his own interests and prohibited service to other posts less convenient for those peoples. This persecution took away from the houses of the new missions the provisions, wheat, and maize, the tierce of salt, the sheep and goats, and the poor weeping people, the intention being to go on another occasion to take away also the cattle and the droves of mares, and to leave

everything destroyed, even to a chapel in which we said mass and where the Christian doctrine was taught and prayers said morning and evening. Our persecutors most rudely burnt it for us, until our Lord vouchsafed that, some prudent and Christian persons interposing, the people returned to their new missions and our sheep and goats were restored to us.

There was great regret by the righteous over what had happened, and among other persons zealous for the service of both majesties Father Horacio Polize wrote me the following:

> On the one hand, I am greatly grieved by the persecution, so iniquitious, and on the other hand I envy your Reverence your patience and virtue, so steadfast.

Thus far the former father visitor; and the actual father visitor, Father Antonio Leal, on March 6 wrote me the following:

> Yesterday, coming from Arispe, I received your Reverence's letter of the twenty-fourth ultimo, and a little afterward that of the third instant. Both grieved me on account of the trials of the poor natives as well as for the affliction of your Reverence, for, as they are children of sorrow, raised up at the cost of so many steps, cares, and efforts of your Reverence, their loss and molestation or vexation is the more sensible. Already I am writing to the alcalde mayor, and I hope in the Lord that everything shall be rectified.

Afterward Father Geronimo Minutili went to the Valley of Sonora, and Father Visitor Antonio Leal, having investigated everything, his Reverence was amazed, yet comforted notwithstanding persecution, when the following arose.

CHAPTER III. A SECOND VERY GRAVE, UNJUST, AND CALUMNIOUS PERSECUTION OF THE TWO PRINCIPAL CAPTAINS OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

When in these months the indiscreet lieutenant of this Pimeria came on to Santa Maria to his bartering for their maize (for he said that for this he had requested and obtained the lieutenancy of this Pimeria), Captain Coro, who in baptism was called and is called Antonio Leal, advised him not to vex so often and inflict his ill treatment so rigorously upon the poor Pimas, who gave him no cause therefor, since he might run the risk of their retiring to the hills or to the hostile Jocomes and Apaches.[93] He was so angry at these words, although very just, that he accused Captain Coro and the captain and governor of Cocospera, called Francisco Pacheco (commonly Cola de Palo) before the Señor alcalde mayor, and before the father visitor, and before General Juan de Retana, who had come on business of the presidio of this province, saying that they had revolted and were involved in the revolt of the greater part of this Pimeria, and that they were on the point of coming to attack this province of Sonora. Now they gave us these reports, although very incorrect, which caused much commotion and gave much concern to all this province of Sonora. Again they ordered us to depart from the Pimeria and to take away and secure the things of the churches, etc.,[94] for on the twenty-fifth of March Father Visitor Antonio Leal wrote me the following letter:

> I greatly desired a letter from there, because of the ill news which has come that Coro was coming to kill fathers

[93] Summarized by Ortega, *idem.*, 316.

[94] That is, they counseled the missionaries to flee for safety from the Pimas. The reference is to Father Leal's letter just below.

and whomsoever he might encounter. I heard of this last night and immediately I reported to the alcalde mayor, who now will believe, and to General Retana. I am awaiting replies. Your Reverence's letter has consoled me greatly, for, although El Coro may have these feelings, according to your Reverence's letter it is not so bad. God grant that he may go no farther. If there is danger, which your Reverence may discern, set out immediately and secure the things of the churches and whatever is possible, for thus I have already written to the Father Rector. Your Reverence, being nearer at hand, if you should have any news regarding the matter, impart it immediately to the fathers, and secure their lives and whatever is possible. They have delayed so long in removing the cause that the effect which we feared is resulting. May God defend us, and guard me your Reverence, etc. Some fathers are now saying that the two fathers who were coming are in Culiacan. They will arrive at an inauspicious time if the Pimeria is so bad, although they say that they [95] have come from far in the interior to see your Reverence.

Thus far the very ill-informed Father Visitor Antonio Leal. And in the same manner the very ill-informed Captain Juan Diaz de Teran, who a few months ago ceased to be lieutenant of this Pimeria, wrote me of his very indiscreet successor [96] as follows:

I arrived at this your Reverence's house in safety, thank God. On the way I happened to receive a letter from the actual captain-lieutenant of this Pimeria in which he asks me for an escort, because El Coro was at the ranch of El Siboda killing droves of mares and cattle. And they say he was going to kill fathers and do other shameful deeds. Some say that he says he has many people from the interior in his following. May our Lord hinder them in purposes so evil and guard me your Reverence.

Thus far Captain Theran. But all was a lie, a fiction, a chimera, a calumny, as shall soon be seen, and could

[95] The natives.

[96] Kino is very careful not to mention the names of his opponents here. Indeed, he usually practiced restraint in this particular.

not serve as anything but a trick for the common enemy, to hinder, as always, the coming of the missionary fathers so necessary, whereby the eternal salvation of souls may be obstructed and delayed.

I omit here many other long letters which Father Antonio Leal, as well as General Retana, wrote me, and others very incorrectly informed, who insisted that I should coöperate to the end that the tumults of these captains of this revolted Pimeria should be put down and quieted; that the indiscreet lieutenant should be removed, that satisfaction should be given to the aggrieved Pima captains, saying that by composing and quieting this revolt I should do a thing of much honor and glory, to me and to our Lady Mother, the Company, etc. But all was no more than a mere chimera and calumny, as shall be seen in the following chapters.

CHAPTER IV. CONCLUSIVE PROOF THAT THERE IS NOT THE LEAST TRACE OF THE PRETENDED REVOLT WHICH WAS REPORTED, EITHER BY THE ABOVE MENTIONED CAPTAINS, OR BY ANY OTHER OF THIS PIMERIA. THE REFUTATION IS DRAWN AND THE CALUMNIOUS FALSITY OF THE ALLEGED REVOLT, AND THE INNOCENCE OF THESE PIMA CAPTAINS OF THIS PIMERIA ARE SHOWN, FROM THE LETTERS AND CERTIFICATIONS OF GENERAL JUAN DE RETANA, AS WELL AS THOSE OF THE ALCALDE MAYOR OF THIS PROVINCE

General Juan de Retana, captain of the Presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, having come to this province of Sonora, on the twenty-fifth of March wrote me the following:

> By Captain Christobal Granillo de Salazar I sent to your Reverence and also to the Pima children, and particularly to

the chiefs, my very cordial greetings, because I find myself engaged in this presidio and province in matters pertaining to the service of his Majesty, by order of the most excellent Señor Viceroy, the Duque de Alburquerque.[97] I thank your Reverence heartily for the remembrances of the Pimas and also of those of the interior, to whom I return them with all affection. And because of the news Father Leal gives me, I beseech you that when you can, with the zeal which is ever present with your Reverence for the service of both Majesties and for the good and quietude of those natives, you will despatch on my behalf a message to Captain Coro, assuring him on behalf of the governor of this kingdom and on mine in his name, that he and his shall still be watched over and protected by us. If there be any remedy required for any grievance from the lieutenant or from other Spaniards, etc., and if it is true that some Indians were transferred against their will to another pueblo, I am not pleased with the state of things.

On the second of April the Señor alcalde mayor, Don Miguel de Abajo, wrote me the following:

I have just arrived at this Valley of Bacanuchi, bringing with me twelve soldiers, for with the news and letters of the very reverend father visitor as well as of other persons, concerning these countries, it has been necessary for me to leave home unseasonably, with distress and disgust enough for the great [disturbance] which the report of the revolt of this Pima nation has occasioned in all the land. But having arrived at this valley and found one of your Reverence's letters written to General Juan Matheo,[98] by its news I am very much pleased. And because the day after tomorrow I hope to arrive to render my obedience to Your Most Reverend Paternity at the pueblo of Cocospera, I shall appreciate it if your Reverence will order Captain Coro summoned, and his chiefs and all the other governors, with whom I have a desire to talk, as also to see your Reverence with all good health. May our Lord preserve it for you.

[97] Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, Duque de Albuquerque, Marqués de Cuellar, was viceroy from 1702 to 1711.

[98] Juan Mateo Manje, evidently.

And two days afterward, on April 4, his Grace wrote me the following:

> I have just arrived at this pueblo of Cocospera, where I have received your Reverence's letter; and with that, and with seeing the Indians, I wish to inform your Reverence that I have had especial comfort. I am sorry not to have had the pleasure of seeing your Reverence, and to obtain this happiness so much the sooner, I wish your Reverence would grant me a favor in behalf of all these soldiers and citizens of the Valley of Opodepe and of myself, since, because of my horses' exhaustion and my late arrival, I have not rested, and have determined to rest this afternoon; and therefore if tomorrow, Palm Sunday, you would do us a favor [by being] at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, I mean Los Remedios, I should have more and more spiritual comfort from the mass. Now if we could go on to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores [we should spare you] this trouble; but it is impossible. And because we all trust in the great charity of your Reverence to grant us this favor, we shall pray our Lord to guard us your Reverence many years.

Thus far the Señor alcalde mayor, and the citizens of the Valley of Opodepe, who with the former lieutenant, Juan Diaz de Teran, also had come in on this west side to join him with the soldiers who had come, and were to join him on the return from Bazera[ca] and Janos to quiet the much talked-of revolt, which was found to be chimerical, because, having entered Cocospera, I summoned Captain Coro and he came immediately with his very friendly people, and with Captain Pacheco and the governor of Cocospera. They found him there with his people, perfectly quiet, and we all came most amicably to spend the Holy Week and holy Easter-tide at the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, which was all celebrated with all solemnity, and with a great concourse of Spaniards and soldiers, as well as of the very numerous people who came

from the interior to the Procession of Penitents of Holy Week, and to comply with the obligations of the Church, etc. And immediately I despatched, with a letter from me, the captains who so unjustly had been considered as rebels, that they might go personally to see the Señor General Juan Fernandez de Retana, as they did go;[99] and his Grace on the twenty-first of April wrote me the following:

> Yesterday, the twentieth instant, I received your Reverence's two letters of the seventh and fifteenth, by the captains and governors Francisco Pacheco and El Coro, called Antonio Leal, by whom I reply to the two above-mentioned letters. I appreciate greatly the news which your Reverence is pleased to give me, to the effect that all the Pima nation is in all peace and quietude. The chiefs, Francisco Pacheco and El Coro, give me the same assurance; and without a doubt your Reverence must have taken great pleasure in the assemblage of the Señor alcalde, the citizens of Opodepe, the soldiers, the numerous Pimas from round about these pueblos, and the heathen from long distances in the interior, for Easter. I thank them all for the greetings which they sent me in your Reverence's letter, and to them I beg your Reverence to return them on my behalf with all affection; for I will aid them in whatever may offer, for the security of both Pacheco and El Coro, to whom I have given the advice conducive to their quietude and continued obedience to his Majesty (God save him), giving them the same assurance in behalf of the Señor governor and captain general of this kingdom. We all know about most of the many expeditions which your Reverence has made to said nation and to others near it, and also of the goodly number of which they are composed, and of their disposition to receive the water of holy baptism, all results of the great zeal and toil of your Reverence for the good of these souls. Likewise I am apprised of the couriers whom your Reverence had sent to the nation and captain of Quiquimas who live on the Rio Colorado and who sent your Reverence the blue shells from the opposite coast, with the news of having discovered a land route

[99] This event is noted by Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, on page 416.

to California, etc., at which I rejoice; and I hope that in the Valley of Sonora we shall be able to meet and report, etc. I have regaled and bestowed such gifts upon Pacheco and El Coro as this remote situation permits; and I only regret that they did not find me in my presidio, that I might have made my customary demonstration with such chiefs, regaling them, etc.

Thus far General Retana; and the said general with much charity and with very Christian breeding regaled these two Pima captains, as well as the other sons who came in his company, with much clothing, cloth, skirts, hats, knives, ribbons, baize, etc., and they returned very contented, consoled, and edified, they as well as all the nation. In many other letters his Grace wrote me a thousand courteous things, and said that the indiscreet lieutenant should be removed, on account of the great importance of obviating chimeras that disturb the children, as his Grace says, to the hurt of their souls, through impeding the coming of the father ministers of the gospel. Besides, there were the juridical certifications by the Señor alcalde mayor and by the same lieutenant, of the good state of the Pimeria, and that in it there is not the slightest trace of the much and falsely talked-of revolt.

CHAPTER V. LETTERS OF TWO FATHER VISITORS WHICH CONFIRM THE ABOVE REFUTATION, AND TELL OF THE GOOD STATE OF THIS PIMERIA

With the new government of the Father Provincial Juan Maria de Salbatierra came the Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo to succeed the Father Visitor Antonio Leal, both of whom, being very well and very truly informed by the royal justices as well as by different fathers, wrote me the two following letters: The Father Visitor Antonio Leal, on the first of April

wrote thus from Banamichi, it being already night, he said, because the following day[100] he was going to celebrate the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows:

> I give your Reverence many and many times repeated thanks for this letter containing such good, joyful, and pleasing news, for we here and all of the province were greatly concerned over what they had written about El Coro. May God recompense your Reverence and keep El Coro in His holy grace and holy faith. The Señor alcalde mayor writes me that he was already sending to remove the lieutenant. The Pimeria being quiet, I have no doubt the new Father Visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, who is probably at Matape this Holy Week, will place there the two new fathers, although according to the previous news that they already have probably arrived at the Real de los Frayles, in Sinaloa, they are probably coming with some misgivings. Many times again I thank your Reverence for the very good news that so many children are on the point of coming to observe Easter with your Reverence, whom our Lord grant as joyful and good news as Christmas has given me and as your Reverence gives. And I pray you that in your holy sacrifices you will commend me to our Lord. Banamichi, April 1, Night, etc.

Thus far Father Visitor Antonio Leal. And the new father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, from Matape on April 14 wrote me the following:

> Today with how great pleasure and comfort I have received the two most delightful letters from your Reverence, because of the news which they give me of your Reverence's health (may our Lord prosper it for you for many happy Easters) and because of the pleasure which your Reverence gives me in regard to the state of the Pimeria; for the sinister rumors which have been current have given me some concern, although I had been reassured by the letters of Father Antonio Leal. Now with those from your Reverence I am consoled, blessed be God; and may He grant me the favor of seeing your Reverence in health and our Pimeria glad and quiet. In spite of the Devil, who seeks confusion, those apostolic missions are going to be founded and

[100] *El dia siguiente* is repeated in the original.

advanced. Have fortitude, your Reverence, and patience, for I trust in the Lord that all will be adjusted and composed, and that the machinations of all Hell against the Pimeria shall not prevail.[101] Tomorrow, Wednesday, God willing, I shall go to Los Ures. I take that route in order as soon as possible to be with your Reverence and with my Father Geronimo Minutuli, whom I salute heartily.

And on April 29 his Reverence writes me from Guepaca the following:

I would fain not write, but instead would speak face to face with my beloved Father Eusebio Francisco Kino. I am very busy, but I rejoice that my dear Father Geronimo is a bearer of news, and that I am apprized of what has happened. God dearly loves those souls, and the Devil, for all the tumults he stirs up, shall not prevail. Father Poni writes that Father Juan Maria de Salbatierra will go in June to California, having first visited the province. I await General Juan de Retana, who has summoned me for the seventh day of March.

In view of this letter from his Reverence and of another from General Juan de Retana, I went to the Valley of Sonora to meet his Reverence on May 7 and to give report of everything and of the pleasing and solemn Easter and Holy Week which we had had, and of the fathers whom we needed. And they were promised to us, but the accustomed and continual opposition has prevented their coming to this day, for the space of twenty-three years, as I shall set forth in the following chapter.

[101] *Nom prebaleynti.*

CHAPTER VI. OF THE VERY GREAT AND SERIOUS HINDRANCE TO THE WELFARE OF SOULS WHICH THE CALUMNIOUS, SINISTER REPORTS AND FALSE TESTIMONY HAVE CAUSED IN THE NEW CONVERSION

At the end and conclusion of the preceding Chapter Four of this Book One, of this Fourth Part of these *Celestial Favors*, [General Juan Retana] says very Christianlike in his most prudent letter, that it is very important to obviate chimeras which perturb the children, for, as his Grace in very Catholic fashion says, they are a detriment to their souls, and impede the coming of the ministers of the gospel. And it is the naked truth that in the midst of a thousand celestial favors which in other ways in these new conquests and new conversions our Lord has continually vouchsafed us, we have experienced this grievous hindrance that, because of these incorrect reports and because of their perfidious contradictions and very unjust opposition, there have not come to us now during these twenty-three years the missionary fathers who are so much needed, and whom so many times and so repeatedly the higher authorities have promised and even sent us, as I shall state:

I. First, by these chimeras, contradictions, and calumnious reports of feigned revolts which I have just related, and which the letters which I cite in these preceding chapters mention, they have grievously hindered the coming of the two fathers who were sent to us, and who, as the letter of the father visitor, Antonio Leal, mentions in Chapter III of this Book First, were on the way and were already in Juliacan,[102] but none of whom arrived in the new conversions.

[102] Culiacán.

II. It has been said, and it is true, that it is because of like contradictions and false reports and law-suits which the disaffected have brought against us, that all this extensive Pimeria, etc., is not already well settled with missionary fathers.

III. Very many fathers have been sent to us in the times of all the father provincials who have held office in these twenty-three years, but always the above-mentioned contradictions and the opposition, through the false reports of the disaffected, have hindered them. Thus the Father Provincial Diego de Almonazir sent us seven missionary fathers[103] for these new conversions, as his Reverence wrote to our Father General Thirso Gonzales of Rome, and his Reverence wrote me from Rome to these new conversions, but the fathers did not arrive here.

IV. When, thirteen years ago,[104] I went to Mexico to secure fathers for this Pimeria, the father provincial, Juan de Palazios, assigned and gave me five fathers, and very good hopes that afterward he would send me others besides, as soon as they should finish taking orders and complete the third year of probation, etc. But we have remained without them and lack them to this day.

All the other father provincials have sent us missionary fathers and have named them for me in their holy letters, but they have not arrived here. A few years ago a father provincial sent me four new fathers at one time for these new conversions,[105] who came with good fortune as far as Sinaloa and Conicari. The accustomed opposition sent the false reports that Pimeria had revolted, as I was informed from Conicari.

[103] See volume i, 116.

[104] In 1695. See volume i, 158-160.

[105] See volume i, 302.

With regret for so great a misfortune at the time of the coming of four missionary fathers, I despatched to Conicari a messenger, an eye-witness, who had just made with me a journey of a hundred and seventy leagues,[106] to report that there had not been the least trace of the slightest revolt. But meanwhile the four fathers had already been assigned to other places there, and a report of it had been given to the father provincial; and, because of the accustomed false reports of the continual opposition, none of the four fathers whom the father provincial had sent us arrived at these new conversions, which need them so much.

Our Father General Miguel Anjel Tamvurini, in a very fine and most courteous letter, which I received within the last few months, tells me that for two years he has had fathers ready to send to these new conversions, but they are detained by the wars and dangers of the seas, etc. Notwithstanding, they tell me that some have now arrived in Mexico, where already there are persons to send, but that the outfit for them for the journey was lacking; and we are now arranging here to send some mules and some silver to help pay these expenses, for here we have missions begun, provided with houses, with wheat and maize, cattle, sheep, and goats, etc., and lands suitable for breadstuffs, and most fertile, etc. And we hope in the very loving and great providence of our Lord that in view of the missionary fathers who have failed to come hitherto, and since our Lord is pleased lavishly to give us harvests so full, so copious, and so seasoned, and so ripe, of new nations so extensive, which spread over two hundred and more leagues of this North America, the greatest and most complete number will come in His own time.

[106] This was the journey made in September and October, 1700.

We were not far wrong, Father Visitor Manuel Gonzales and I, when, twenty-two years ago, we said that we were going to need fifty missionary father laborers for these very extensive fields of this North America, which we had then seen here; and now, thanks be to the lord, we have it very well subdued under our hands. And since that time twenty-two years ago when from Opossura, the district which said Father Manuel Gonzales administers and whither I went to see and discuss things with his Reverence, we wrote this point to our father general at Rome, and said that in His time we should need fifty missionary fathers, it appears that, thanks be to the Lord, our desires for the most part are being fulfilled; especially since with the greatest comfort to us our Father General Anjel Tanburini has just written us that we must not conclude that, when in times so depressed our Lord gives us the happy discoveries of so many nations and of so many souls, it is in order that we shall see them lost, that is, condemned, but rather to give us means and forces to bring them from their forests and place them in pueblos, with churches, and that they may be saved.

BOOK II. THE COMING AND VISIT OF THE NEW FATHER VISITOR, FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, TO THESE NEW MISSIONS

CHAPTER I. THE COMING OF THE FATHER VISITOR, FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, TO THIS FIRST PUEBLO OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES, WHERE HE HOLDS THE FEAST OF THE ASCENSION OF OUR LORD

I having gone to the Valley of Sonora, on my return the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, came with me to this valley of Opodepe and of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and his Reverence, having spent some days inspecting the three pueblos of Father Rector Melchor de Bartiromo, Opodepe, Tuape, and Cucurpe, he wrote me on May 18 the following letter.

> With much pleasure I received the very welcome letter of your Reverence, because of the news which it gives me of your safe arrival at your holy house and mission. May our Lord prosper it for you according to my desires and for the great good of those dearly beloved children. I hope to see them Wednesday morning, God willing, and to place myself at your Reverence's disposal. I shall set out, then, at Vespers of the Ascension of our Lord.

Accordingly, his Reverence came to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where we welcomed him with great pleasure and with a great concourse of many natives, captains, and governors, some of whom had come from far in the interior to the feast of the Ascension of Our Lord, on which his Reverence chant-

ed the solemn mass, accompanied by the good choir of singers which was here. In the chapel he preached to the children a fervid sermon in the Pima tongue. We discussed the conversion of this extensive nation and of its neighbors, and the succor of California, his Reverence promising us many fathers. His Reverence was pleased to see this good and large church with good bells and ornaments, a good house, a good garden, etc. After three days we went to the neighboring mission of San Ygnacio, which then was and still is administered by Father Agustin de Campos, who came to meet us more than half way. And in his second pueblo, that of Santa Maria Magdalena, where he was building the church and the house, they welcomed us with all kindness. And, I returning to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, the father visitor, with Father Agustin de Canpuz, went fifteen leagues to the westward to the mission of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, which was and is administered by Father Geronimo Minutil[i], whose second pueblo is Santa Tereca de Caborca, and whose third is Antonio del Uquitoa. In all these places building was going on, I having undertaken at my charge the building of the church of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama because, thanks be to the Lord, I had now finished the three churches of the three pueblos of my administration. From San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama on May 31 the father visitor wrote me the following letter:

> May our Lord, according to my desires, prosper the health of your Reverence, at whose orders mine is ready to serve your Reverence. I have received letters from the father provincial, and we must have a talk. Father Rector Bartiromo tells me that at present the meeting of which we had spoken cannot be held, although his Reverence may come for the feast of Corpus Christi to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and Father Agustin will go also. On Wednesday, God willing, we shall be at

Santa Magdalena, on our return trip. Father Agustin and Father Geronimo salute your Reverence heartily. I shall rejoice if your Reverence has held Pentecost with satisfaction. So be it for many years, etc. *Vale mey memor.*[107] Tubutama, May 31, 1705. Your Reverence's humble servant, and altogether yours, FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO.

Afterward, his Reverence came to the pueblo of Santa Maria Magdalena, whence on June 3 he wrote to me that he, as well as Father Agustin, desired to come to see my new churches and to hold the feast of Corpus Christi, and he did go to the middle pueblo, which is San Ygnacio, and to the third pueblo, which is Señor San Joseph de Ymiris,[108] whither I went to meet his Reverence, and whence in company with Father Agustin he came to the second and third pueblos under my administration, namely, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios and Santiago (or Nuestra Señora del Pilar) de Cocospera, where the fathers rejoiced to see the two good and spacious new churches, both having transepts and both of which had been dedicated in the same week a little more than a year before.[109] We came to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, whither came also Father Rector Melchor Bartiromo; and with the concourse of many Spaniards besides, who came from the neighboring mining camps, and of many natives from near here and from the interior we held a solemn feast and procession of Corpus Christi, with a reliquary of gilded silver which in these past years Father Phelipe Esgrecho has presented as a gift to this new mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. In the following year I bought at Matape another very good reliquary or ceryl with wheat from this productive mission.

[107] "Farewell, do not forget me."

[108] Imuris.

[109] See volume ii, 81-83.

CHAPTER II. RETURN OF THE FATHER VISITOR TO THE VALLEY OF SONORA; AND MOST COURTEOUS LETTERS WHICH HIS REVERENCE AND HIS PREDECESSOR WRITE ME

After this inspection of these new missions and the solemnity of the feast and procession of Corpus Christi, the father visitor turned back to Sonora and to the inspection of the other missions of this province, and we four fathers set out to hold the same feast on Sunday within the octave[110] at the neighboring pueblo of Cucurpe. Father Agustin and I returning to our Pimeria, the father visitor went on to Saracachi, a ranch of Cucurpe, whither I sent him some trifles; and his Reverence on June 15 wrote me the following letter:

> I am in receipt of your Reverence's most welcome letter telling of your arrival at your most beautiful mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, which I bear graven upon my heart, together with all the other missions of the Pimeria. May our Lord prosper your Reverence's health for many and great things for his greater glory. I am ready to serve your Reverence in any respect whatsoever, being very grateful to you, not so much for favors, caresses, and kindnesses which I have received in those holy houses of your Reverence, as for the love which I owe and have in my heart for you; and your Reverence's rare and most religious talents deserve it. I received the wine and the fruit from the fertile garden; may your Reverence live for me many years. Your Reverence's gifts still accompany me, and your garden, it seems, follows me with its choicest fruits. In truth, its apricots have come to me at Saracachi, perhaps for the farewell.

Thus far the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, as he was travelling toward the Valley of Sonora. And his predecessor, Father Antonio Leal, on June 27, wrote me the following:

> A few days ago I wrote to your Reverence in great haste,

[110] *Dominica infra octavam.*

although very gladly, and now I receive the same pleasure and comfort both because of what your Reverence wrote you had, and because the father visitor told me that all the Pimeria was like a peaceful sky, as a volition and a non-volition of all the wills of my best-beloved fathers, and that your Reverence was very pleased and happy, which in truth has consoled me greatly. I hope in God that now the Christian labor of my happy nation will make long strides, even though the Devil, who hinders it, may seek and find other means and ways, with a view to winning his point. But I hope in God that nothing will prevail but the blood of Christ, shed for that end, and obtained by your Reverence's travails and efforts; and for everything I give your Reverence hearty congratulations, and especially for the pleasing fact that the father visitor has come. And greatly should I have rejoiced if your Reverence had been able to come hither.

Thus far Father Antonio Leal. And as in this inspection of Pimeria by the Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo, a letter had come to him from the Marianas Islands with another from Great China, and about those missions, I shall give the news, which they contain, combined in two chapters with the news of these new missions here.

CHAPTER III. LETTERS WHICH ARRIVE AT THE NEW PIMA MISSIONS FROM THE MARIANAS ISLANDS [111] AND GREAT CHINA, AT THE VERY TIME OF THIS ABOVE-RELATED VISIT OF THE FATHER VISITOR

Father Antonio Cundari, missionary of the Marianas Islands, on May 9 of the preceding year, 1704, wrote me [112] the following letter:

MY FATHER FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, *Pax Christi*: At last, after so many years, I have had the pleasure of seeing the

[111] The same as the Ladrones Islands. For the early work of the Jesuits there see Le Gobien (Charles), *Histoire des isles Marianes, nouvellement converties à la religion chrestienne; & de la mort glorieuse des premiers*

[112] The *me* of the Ms. must be a slip of the pen, for the letter was not written to Kino.

first letter from one of the many beloved fathers of the province of the City of Mexico; and it is your Reverence's, which I received at the passing of the China ship last year, its date October 12, 1700. Great was my pleasure at hearing of your Reverence's good health and the rewards for your labors in that mission, which, it seems, must be a younger daughter of the Marianas missions, judging from the opposition and the difficulties which I with my poor judgment and inexperience met in establishing them. I greatly approve of the time which your Reverence has considered it expedient to delay the baptisms of the adults, in which respect a great mistake was made in those missions, and it caused many doubts and great confusion in removing them. At the same time, we have undeceived ourselves in other respects, having seen the inconstancy of the natives, so ready to leave everything and return to the same condition, particularly when ministers are taken away from them or are lacking. I appreciate the news of the fathers of my acquaintance, with the remembrances of Father Salbatierra and of Captain Don Juan Romero, whose memory is not forgotten here. We were all rejoiced, and we return them most tenderly. I have written your Reverence's remembrances to Father Muscatí, who for some time has been alone in the island of Rotas, ministering to those Islanders. After my fashion I pass the time in good health (I mean good enough for the ministry) with a touch of a disorder which our Lord has sent upon me in my old age, I may say, for I am almost fifty years old, which age I never imagined I should reach, because of gall stones.

Some vessels of the natives with a Spanish commander and some soldiers have probably set out at this hour from the Barra de Agoña,[112a] to make a cruise to the remote Islands of Gañi, now depopulated, to make a clean sweep with the people, who since then have been known to have hidden or to have returned, and who will probably amount to some three hundred souls. May our Lord prosper the journey.

Last year on Holy Thursday, after the sermon of the Pas-

missionaires que y ont prêché la foy (Paris, 1700). Letters dealing with the Jesuits in the Marianas Islands are in Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, Theil i, 98; Theil ii, 1; Theil iii, 1; Theil iv, 1; Theil vii, 3. See also *Lettres Édifiantes*.

[112a] A village in Guam.

sion, Father Basilio, minister of Umata, died, a person of great gifts, and singularly meritorious in his relations with this mission, and of great virtue. He was succeeded by Father Anttonio de Arias,[113] who, with two other fathers from Mexico, came in the ship for the Philippines; and Father Arias alone remained to supply his place. I heard from the country-folk, also last year, on Corpus Christi day, that the governor having come to inspect the land of Ynsahan, a new church, erected by Father Juan Firmaizen, of excellent timber and well made, was consumed by the fire from a small mortar which was discharged at the Gloria; and that the father barely escaped with the reliquary. The misfortune and the loss were very considerable in these parts, and especially in the present hard times, owing to the tender's [114] not having come from Manila for two years in succession, which has caused us many lacks. Captain Romero continues to enjoy learning about the country. The married soldiers now number a hundred, and there will be a colony of half-breeds. A house for the governor is on the point of completion, so large that in time of need it will serve as a fort and a military plaza for everybody, all of wood and *fic*, which is like iron, and the roof of asbestos, that it may not take fire from projectiles.

A church and a house for the fathers are also being constructed of the same material. The cows, which are very gentle, exceed five hundred; there are sufficient oxen for carting, horses, she-goats, etc.; and finally, the burros have multiplied to such an extent that they are being distributed; and I have chanced upon a she-mule, with which I can visit all the eight pueblos which I administer within a short distance, without the old-time pain of going on foot.

In this mission there are ten priests, distributed as follows: in the Island of Ceypan one, another in Rota, and five in as many residences of this Island of Guahan.[114a] One looks after the college for boys and girls, and after the country district. The Father Vice-provincial, who at present is Father Gerhardo Boubens, is now more than seventy years old, but is stronger

[113] Concerning Father Antonio Arias's work in Nayarit, Mexico, at a later date, see Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott*, Theil viii, 40.

[114] *Patache*, a small vessel.

[114a] Guam.

than all the rest combined. One man, as alcalde, has the immediate command in each district. All are Spaniards, retired from military service, there being no other soldier. The soldiers are all in the capital, the sergeant-major occasionally going out with a few to make a turn through the pueblos. I have written because I have no other occupation, for all are baptized. Help us, your Reverence, to continue advancing them, with your holy sacrifices and prayers, to which I commend myself, praying our Lord to guard your Reverence for me many years. Merizo, May 9, 1704. Your Reverence's humble servant,

ANTONIO CUNDARI.

At this same time also there came to these new missions the letter of Father Vanhame,[115] the famous missionary and mathematician of Great China, which he wrote to us, Father Adamo Gilg and the other fathers of his acquaintance. A few years ago, when he was sent by the superiors from these our new American missions of Tharaumares to the Asiastic mission of Great China, he said good-bye by writing me a very fine letter, in which he addressed us, the American fathers, his acquaintances and friends. His Reverence gave us to understand that he had arrived in safety in that great empire of Great China; that, however, the affairs of our holy faith had their difficulties and delays, both on account of discord with the bishops and the ministers of the Propaganda, and because it was necessary to have some gifts, such as pieces of rich fabric, for example, for the mandarins, in order to secure permission to preach our holy Catholic Faith. He informed us also that what he had accomplished with his great toil during all that year, in the space of more than one hundred and sixty leagues of very populous cities, reduced itself to his having converted to our holy Catholic Faith and baptized an old Tartar woman. And with reason the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, made the

[115] Father Van Hame. See "Index."

remark that here, by the divine grace, in these new American conversions, in particular when the necessary fathers came, each one will be able to solemnize about a thousand baptisms each year; and therefore I shall insert the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV. COMPARISON OF THESE NEW AMERICAN MISSIONS OF THIS UNKNOWN NORTH AMERICA WITH THE ASIATIC MISSIONS OF THE MARIANAS ISLANDS AND OF GREAT CHINA

Although, as the saying goes, *omnis comparatio est odiosa*,[116] my intention here is only to compare some celestial favors over here with those which also our Lord concedes over there, for, as all come from one most divine hand, all are very friendly, and without the least mingling of hatred, or jealousy, or bitterness; and the greatness and glory of so many and so apostolic, heroic, and holy Asiatic missions with so many and glorious martyrs and most sublime triumphs of our Holy Catholic Faith, are always very well known, very undeniable, and very enviable; and to us will remain only the very just and useful command, *Emulamini carismata meliora*,[117] and the desire and prayer that also to these extensive new harvests the necessary laborers may come, seeking the fulfillment of the obligation which belongs to us all: *Rogate Dominum messis ut mitat operarios in messem suam*,[118] and *quia parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui frangeret eis*.[119]

We have then: I. The greater opportunity and

[116] "Every comparison is odious."

[117] "Be zealous for the better gifts" (1 *Cor.*, xii, 31. *Aemulamini autem charismata meliora*).

[118] "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest that he send laborers into His harvest" (*Luke*, x, 2. *Rogate ergo*, etc.).

[119] "Because the little ones have asked for bread and there was none to break it unto them" (*Lam.*, iv, 4).

the greater nearness of these new conquests and new conversions and new American missions of this unknown North America to Europe, to Cadiz, to Seville, Madrid, Paris, and Rome; and they may serve as a port of call on the way to the very great Asiatic missions of the Marianas Islands of Great China, and, when God is willing, to those of Japan and Great Tartary, etc., just as the new conquests and new conversions of New France, being farther eastward, will be able to aid these our more western ones by land, and then the triumphal car of our Holy Catholic Faith will travel with the sun from east to west, until by the divine grace, all the world shall be converted, *Et fiat unum ovile et unus Pastor*,[120] and we shall say with the royal prophet, pleased, and contented, and happy, *Domine Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra*,[121] and *Anunciate inter Gentes gloriam eius in omnibus populis mirabilia ejus. . .*[122]

II. In these new conversions we have many temporal means and conveniences, for, with his celestial favor our Lord is giving us every day with full hands so many provisions, wheat, maize, beans, etc.; lands as fertile for everything as the best of Europe; Indians, industrious, docile, and affable, and now,

III, very friendly, so that the father visitor, Anttonio Leal, was accustomed to say, as he wrote me in a letter of his,

> We fathers of the Company of Jesus always seek lost souls in all the world; and now that in these new conversions they seek, call, and pray with insistence, it will be a shame if we do not hear them.

[120] "And let there be one fold and one Shepherd" (*John*, x, 16).

[121] "Lord, our Lord, how admirable is Thy name in all the Earth!" (*Psalm* viii, 1).

[122] "Declare his glory among the Gentiles, his wonders among all peoples" (*Psalm* xcv, 3).

IV. It is necessary for the missionary fathers to regale the mandarin in Great China with various gifts and presents in return for permission to preach our Holy Catholic Faith, whereas, as Father Daniel Angel, who was rector, visitor, and missionary of Matape (the commission as provincial which came to him from Rome found him dead) was accustomed to say, when some nations had failed to secure the fathers whom they requested, here they asked him, as they have asked me, how much a father would cost, in order that, as in their simple discourse they put it, with the silver which with their maize and mines they might assemble, they could buy a missionary father, to baptize them and minister to them for their eternal salvation.

V. The Indians of these new American conversions of this North America, because of not having other ministers, are like a blank tablet, or white paper, on which with ease one may write or paint any good thing whatsoever, or imprint the good teaching of our Holy Catholic Faith, whereas the people of Great China and Japan are like a paper already written upon with the evil teaching of their priests, and which, before it is cleansed of blots, usually costs centuries of impossibilities, as we have experienced.

VI. In Japan they have the gates cruelly shut against our holy Catholic Faith, wishing that in order to enter to preach it we should tread under foot a Holy Christ; while in the new conversions here they come to hurl themselves at our gates to ask for the holy faith, and holy baptism, and preachers of the gospel, with all humility and with insistence, traveling for this purpose one hundred, one hundred and fifty, three hundred, and more leagues.

VII. In Great China and Japan with resistance so great for so many years, they have their gates, their

cities, and their houses closed to the preaching of the gospel; while here in the new conquests and new conversions, where I am writing this, even the natives from far in the interior, voluntarily come to call us and to invite us in the most friendly manner, except when we enter to see them in their rancherías, and even while they are still heathen they receive us with all kindness, with crosses placed on the roads, with which they put to flight the devils, and with festive arches, and with dances and singing, and provisions, with the greatest generosity and most singular love and desire to be Christians. I do not claim for this reason that the very evangelical holy Asiatic conversions of Great China of the Marianas Islands, Japan, etc., shall not be carried on with the accustomed holy fervor of the heroes so apostolic of so many centuries, but my desire is and shall be *Haec facere et illa non omitere.*[123]

CHAPTER V. LETTERS OF THE FATHER VISITOR, FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, FROM OPOSURA AND MATAPE, WITH NEWS THAT THE FATHER PROVINCIAL JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA GOES FROM MEXICO TO CALIFORNIA

Father Francisco Maria Picolo, having departed from the inspection of this rectorate, or mission, of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and having gone on inspecting the mission, or rectorate, of San Francisco Xavier of the Valley of Sonora, and having passed on to the inspection of the mission, or rectorate, of the Holy Martyrs of Japan,[124] wrote me from Oposura, on July 24, the following letter:

> With much pleasure and comfort, as always, I received the very welcome letter from your Reverence with the news of your good health. May our Lord prosper it for your Reverence, according to my desires and according as that blessed Pimeria

[123] "To do this and not to omit that."

[124] Los Santos Martires de Japón.

needs the person and presence and apostolic zeal of my well-beloved Father Kino. Although far from Pimeria, I am there in heart, and O that my necessary occupations would permit me to labor and aid your Reverence in something! The will of the Lord be done, etc.

And when his Reverence arrived afterwards in his holy inspection at the mission, or rectorate, of San Francisco de Borxa, he wrote me the following from Matape on August 29:

I shall rejoice if your Reverence has had a joyful feast of Our Lady of the Assumption, in company with the children from the interior and from the outside. May you be spared for many feasts of the great Lady. God willing, I shall set out from San Joseph de Guaimas after the feast of the Nativity of Mary Most Holy. And, although there is no news from the father provincial, I always hold it for his Reverence in California throughout September. What the father provincial requires of me is a little flour, which our California needs at present. I salute your Reverence's governors and all the children. God grant me grace to return as soon as possible to see them all and your Reverence in perfect health, and may you be so for many long years, etc.

And when his Reverence arrived afterwards at the mission, or rectorate, of our Holy Father San Ygnacio de Hiaqui, from San Joseph de Guaymas, his Reverence, in the postscript of Father Provincial Juan Maria de Salvatierra, writes me these words:

I send this letter of the provincial which he writes me now from California, whither I shall soon go, *Deo Favente*,[125] to be with his Reverence to give praise.

Thus far the letter of Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo. And I sent this year, as every year, thanks be to the Lord, fifteen loads of flour, with other trifles, of what our Lord is pleased to give us in these new Pima conversions; and I place the letter from the father provincial in the following chapter.

[125] "God willing."

CHAPTER VI. ARRIVAL OF FATHER PROVINCIAL JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA FROM MEXICO IN CALIFORNIA, AND A LETTER WHICH HIS REVERENCE WRITES ME OF THIS EVENT

As soon as the father provincial, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, arrived from Mexico in California, although no one ever heard that another father provincial had so apostolically come to such remote new missions, his Reverence wrote to the fathers that which he imparts to me, with his accustomed very great generosity, in the Italian tongue. He was pleased to write me on August 30 and I received it on September 17, day of the Most Holy Stigmata of the Seraphic San Francisco, great favorite of the most glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier. It is as follows:

> I have received all your Reverence's letters; and remember, your Reverence, that *Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos?*[126] And in everything, *Al nostro buen Gesù, e no pensi a più. Ama Dio e no fallire, fa pur bene e lacia dire, lacia dire chi dir vuole, fa pur bene di buon cuore.*[127] I have received the table of contents of the relations of the expeditions which your Reverence has made in these new lands and new nations, as our father general asks it of your Reverence, and it is good. I thank your Reverence for the gift for the poor province. May God recompense your Reverence therefor. This note and letter are for the father visitor, Manuel Pineyro, and the other letters for me. And God will recompense your Reverence for the aid for these poor fathers, whom I should have found dead of hunger and other travails if I had not arrived in person.

Thus far the father provincial, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, who afterwards, with his paternal and great

[126] "If God be for us, who can be against us?" (*Romans*, viii, 31).

[127] "Think on our good Jesus and think not of aught else. Love God and do not sin. Do good and let him speak, let him speak who wishes to speak, and do good with ready heart." It is not quite clear whether the Ms. reads *Al nostro buen Gesù* or *Al nostro buen pensi*. I have accepted the former reading.

prudence and his holy zeal, set in order many things, in California as well as in these missions of Sonora and Cinaloa; and more and more aid in the way of provisions and everything kept coming to the fathers of California, so that even Father Geronimo Minutuli, new missionary of the very new mission of San Pedro y San Pablo, sent his loads of wheat and flour from here to Hiaqui for California. But, although there were a few persons concerned in this matter, others were less interested in this pious succor of California, yet our Lord with his very great loving kindness never allowed what was necessary to fail. At this same time, on August 15, the father rector of the mission of Our Holy Father Ygnacio de Hyaqui, wrote me the following letter:

> I have received the fifteen loads of wheat, for which I thank your Reverence beyond measure; and I can say with truth that it is through your Reverence that I eat bread this year. May our Lord be your recompense, etc.

CHAPTER VII. LETTERS FROM THE VERY REVEREND FATHER KNIGHT COMMANDER, FRAY NICOLAS BERNARDO DE RAMOS, FATHER RECTOR PEDRO YGNACIO DE LOYOLA, AND CAPTAIN DON MIGUEL DE TURIZES Y CANO, WHICH, WRITTEN IN DIFFERENT PLACES, ARRIVE AT THE SAME TIME IN SUPPORT OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

The Very Reverend Father Fray Nicolas Bernardo de Ramos, knight-commander of his holy convent of Teocoaltichi, of the Sacred Order of Nuestra Señora de la Merced, Redemption of Captives, on the twenty-fifth of July of this year, 1705, wrote me the following letter:

> I have received with due appreciation your Reverence's letter which Fray Francisco Ruiz de Belmar [128] brought, its date May

[128] Concerning Fray Ruíz de Belmar see volume i, 109; volume ii, 76-77.

30, 1704, and I rejoice heartily at your good health. May our Lord prosper it for many years. It brings comfort in regard to all your children in that mission, and the increase of Christianity in those extensive parts and nations, for it has been very pleasing to me to see the desires which they manifest (as your Reverence tells me) to receive holy baptism, and the need there is of laborers in proportion to the great harvest. May our Lord move the hearts of the superiors to make provision in a matter and business of so great importance, for which I, although sinful, will pray and clamor to His Divine Majesty, as is my duty, and the fathers of this your convent will do the same, for it is in this that we can aid your Reverence and your good desires; O that God may hear us!

I am very grateful for your Reverence's favors, the bezoar and the mule, but I am very much ashamed that without my having deserved it or served you you treat me so liberally. These favors remain deeply imprinted upon my memory and I shall serve you, and so in the little which my poor person may avail, I shall greatly appreciate your Reverence's setting me to work with the frankness of father to son, and you shall be obeyed with the exactitude which my great obligation requires, for thus your Reverence honors so greatly my religion. For there is no religious who goes to those districts that does not experience it; even we who live far away also experience it; and for the honors which your Reverence does Fray Francisco Ruiz de Belmar I must return you due thanks, etc.

Thus far Father Knight Commander Fray Nicolas Bernardo de Ramos, asking that I baptize him many Bernardos. Father Rector Pedro Ygnacio de Loyola, master of our novices in the City of Mexico, on September 21 wrote me the following letter:

Your Reverence, having a father provincial all Pima and all missionary, will, no doubt, secure whatsoever you may desire for the great good of those your beloved missions. I received a letter from your Reverence at Easter, but I have not seen the other to which your Reverence refers; neither have I ever seen the index, or compendium, of the Relation; but *quid quid sit.*[129]

[129] "Whatever is is right."

Let me say, Father, that with all truth your Reverence will have me at your service, although, as I have said, Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra being provincial, little intervention will be necessary now; for our Reverence's zeal, so well known, being combined with such detailed reports of those nations, all the missionary fathers may promise themselves happy success in all their affairs, etc.

Thus far the Father Rector Ygnacio de Loyola. The captain, advocate, and licentiate, D. Miguel de Turices y Cano, who was sent by the Señor viceroy of this New Spain from Mexico on business of this province of Sonora, from the Real de San Juan Bauptista on September 30 wrote me the following letter:

Before entering this *real*, and while many leagues from it, I learned how much your Reverence has labored and labors in seeking souls for the Lord, and the good which your pious and Christian zeal is accomplishing; and I hope in God that He will long spare you that you may see all those poor dear creatures reduced to our holy Catholic Faith. And so I said that nothing more was necessary than a hint and, in so far as I may be of use, I would serve your Reverence in what you might command me. And as soon as our Lord permits me, I shall report at Mexico to the superiors in regard to your Reverence, with great emphasis, and in particular to his Excellency, who, I should think, will listen to me, and will rejoice in the docility of these poor creatures, and at the fact that they clamor to receive holy baptism. And your Reverence may be assured that the letters which have been written have not been given to his Excellency, nor has the notice come to him; for since his royal Majesty charges in repeated laws the propagation of our holy Faith among these heathen for the extirpation of their infidelity, I doubt not he by now would have been ready with the aid so insisted upon and so desired by your Reverence. But I hope in God that it will be granted very shortly, for I shall inform his Excellency of everything with great detail, and to him, if it shall be necessary, I shall show your Reverence's letter. Besides this, I shall tell what I have seen personally. And since some reports current in Mexico are contrary to what your Reverence

says in your letter, when it is seen by his Excellency from the report which I shall make to him, I think that God will grant that what your Reverence so much desires shall be accomplished. And I pray His Divine Majesty to let me place myself at your Reverence's feet, etc.

Thus far Captain Don Miguel Turices y Cano.

Besides the three above mentioned letters which came at this same time from the outside, here in this same rectorate Father Rector Melchor de Bartiromo wrote me in this month of September the following:

I have already requested fathers for these new conversions, and now I shall again ask them, with all assiduity and emphasis, and I shall write in favor of our Pima children, as an eye-witness of the fact that they have come to ask fathers, etc.

Thus the father rector.

CHAPTER VIII. LETTER WHICH THE FATHER PROVINCIAL, JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA, WRITES ME AT HIS DEPARTURE FROM CALIFORNIA ON HIS RETURN TO MEXICO

When the very grave affairs of the province of New Spain called the father provincial, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, from California to Mexico, his Reverence wrote me from Nuestra Señora de Loreto Conchó on October 15 the following letter:

Your Reverence's two letters, one of the first and the other of the nineteenth of September, I have received with much pleasure and comfort in this Real de Loreto, and greater pleasure has been given me by the reports which the visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, made me, of the good state of these missions of the Pimeria, of the labors which have been and are being performed therein, and of the harmony and charity with which at present the fathers thereof deal one with another. For this I have given thanks, hoping now that each day we may make progress, because, all being united in God for one and the same end, one can better advance the service of God and the welfare of souls. And, moreover, finding these so disposed as your Reverence signifies to me in both letters, I give thanks to

God and to the indefatigable application and zeal of your Reverence, which extends to the spiritual and the temporal, as well for the welfare of those poor creatures as for the aid of the Californias. These now have fathers as far as the places which they call Las Virgenes, thus drawing each day nearer on the north, whereby in part can be facilitated what your Reverence so greatly has desired, and I at present, of continuing along that route the journey to the Rio de la Azencion.

In future, as circumstances may offer, your Reverence may communicate with the father visitor, who, as one who keeps in mind all the present circumstances and those which may arise, will give the necessary counsel. I thank your Reverence for the flour which your Reverence sends here, and for the coöperation which Father Rector Melchor de Bartiromo has lent in this region, for whom I desire all happiness and relief. The fathers over here, who recognize your Reverence as their benefactor and apostolic model in your indefatigable labors, salute your Reverence. I am now on the point of setting out for Mexico, where, according to the mood in which I find the Señor viceroy, I shall treat of the promotion of these new conversions, because with these wars and the suspension of news from Spain he usually has his difficulties. I desire nothing else than the progress, in the undertaking so noble and profitable, of these new conversions, etc.

Thus far Father Provincial Juan Maria de Salvatierra.

CHAPTER IX. LAST LETTERS WHICH AT THE END OF THIS YEAR 1705 FOUR DIFFERENT PERSONS WRITE ME, WITH NEWS OF AFFAIRS OF CALIFORNIA AND OF THIS SIDE

The father rector of Matape, Marcos Anttonio Cappus, on October 4 and 21 wrote me the following:

Our father provincial, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, is probably now on his way to Mexico, having embarked for Matanchel, as we are told by Father Rector Adamo Gilg who has just come from California; and Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo remains now in Beleem, of Hyaqui, whence he will pass

to Tepague, and by way of Movas and Onabas will come to Matape, to equip himself to continue the inspection of the east. Brother Jaime Bravo, whom the deceased father visitor-general, Manuel Pineyro, brought from Spain, and whom the father provincial took to California, remains there looking after the temporal matters. Two Californian boys died of smallpox in Mexico, under the care of the father provincial. Captain Juan Bauptista de Escalante will return to these regions, because the former captain of California, Estevan Rodrigues, came with the father provincial, confirmed by his Excellency, etc.

NOVEMBER 13. Thus far the father vice-rector, Marcos Antonio Kappus. Father Geronimo Minutili, from his new mission of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, on November 13 wrote me the following:

I am very grateful to your Reverence for the great generosity which your Reverence shows me each day; may God recompense your Reverence therefor once and a thousand times. Now, only thirty-eight of the forty head of cattle which were sent have arrived, because two remained on the road, one exhausted and the other having fled. I have received the baize which the *caporal* brought to buy maize for the building of the church, and the other cloth for the other *fanegas*, which have been bought, and are being consumed by those who are making adobes. I thank your Reverence heartily for everything, as also for the *guaxinques*, or carpenters, who are now cutting the timbers. One of them has charge of the hauling and another is going to bring the other carpenter's tools, which they lack. Also, I am very grateful for the coming of your Reverence's alcalde, who is overseer of the adobes. I pray that your Reverence will come as soon as possible. The case is urgent, for I am expecting many people from the rancherías near by to make many adobes, etc. And I pray your Reverence to please let me know what number we must provide, and that you may come in person, which I greatly desire, so that through your presence and authority and the love which the children have for you the work may proceed with zeal.

NOVEMBER 18. Thus far Father Geronimo. Father Antonio on November 18 wrote me the following:

I owe your Reverence thanks for many things; first and principally for the very great charity which your Reverence is bestowing upon Father Geronimo. It can not be denied that well says the prayer of San Geronimo and of Heronimus, son of Eusebius.[180] Regarding both laborers and cattle, provisions, clothing, etc., and for your personal work in his aid, your works, your practical charity, may God recompense your Reverence, etc.

Thus far Father Antonio Leal. The captain and advocate, Don Miguel de Torizes y Cano, on December 4 asked me for a map of these new nations in order to report to Mexico in favor of these new conversions, in order that the laborers so necessary may be sent to us. In view of that and other reports some were sent to us, but always with the accustomed contradictions, and at times with the dearth of missionaries, we have kept on asking and supplicating *Dominum messis, ut mitat operarios in messem suam*[181] that our Lord may be pleased, when it is most expedient, to aid us with the laborers necessary for the total conversion of all this North America and of all the universe.

[180] *Heusebi filius.*

[181] "Supplicating the Lord of the harvest that he send laborers into His field" (*Luke*, x, 2. *Rogate ergo Dominum messis ut mittat operarios in messem suam*).

BOOK III. NEW CONQUESTS AND NEW CONVERSIONS OF THE YEAR 1706, IN PARTICULAR THROUGH TWO EXPEDITIONS, OR MISSIONS, TO THE COASTS OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER I. A VERY RECENT LETTER FROM THE FATHER VISITOR, FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, WHICH, WITH ANOTHER SOMEWHAT EARLIER FROM OUR FATHER GENERAL, THYRSO GONZALES, INSPIRES US TO PERSEVERE IN THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

On January 19 of this year 1706, the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, wrote me from Batuco the following letter:

I have received two most pleasing letters from your Reverence, with appreciation and pleasure, as always. May our Lord grant your Reverence perfect health, and that you may be on the eve of the fulfillment of your great and apostolic desires. I should like to serve your Reverence with a muleteer on your apostolic journeys, as I hope they will be, leaving that happy and very glorious Pimeria well provided with apostolic men, like those who at present work in that vineyard of the Lord. And, those missions being the gateway to nations and peoples so extensive, it is necessary, my best beloved Father Eusebio, to put all our care upon them, and afterwards, God giving us life, to pass on, and die toiling for God and the welfare of those souls, whom I love more than myself. I heartily salute all your Reverence's children, and I would personally shed all my blood for them and for those poor heathen who live so far distant. But your Reverence will see them and they will come to see your Reverence and ask of you holy baptism. Although I realize and confess that His Divine Majesty is not

pleased with my labors nor with my blood, so ill have I fulfilled and now fulfill my vocation, God grant me His grace that apostolic missionaries may come and that they may do what I, although useless, desire and have desired to do. May Mary Most Holy recompense your Reverence for your generosity and care in helping the poor fathers of California, all of whom salute your Reverence, and are very grateful to you. From Santa Maria de Bazeraca I would fain return to those glorious missions of the Pimeria, yet I do not know whether I can do so or not.

Thus far the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo. And just at the time when I am writing this Book III of this Part IV of the *Celestial Favors*, almost by chance I come upon the holy letter of our father general, Thyrso Gonzales, which, although somewhat old, gives us all very singular stimulus for a thousand good things. It being dated in Rome, December 27, 1698, is of the following tenor:

I have received a letter from your Reverence dated June 3, 1697, with the extraordinary pleasure with which I always receive and read your letters, always full of matters for rejoicing, because our Lord coöperates in your labors for the extension of our holy faith among those Pimas, as is seen in the seven churches which are being built for the missions or pueblos which had newly been formed and assembled in the faith. Blessed be God that He thus bestows His blessing upon your Reverence's labors. Although your Reverence was ready to go to the Californias with Father Juan Maria de Salbatierra, yet by later letters which I have from Mexico I have learned that it has not been possible for your Reverence to go now to the Californias, because your Reverence's presence has been adjudged necessary to pacify the revolted nations near by and to see to it that some of the Pimas, as recent converts, do not follow the bad example of the others. I hope that all will have been pacified and that your Reverence will have had an opportunity of following the footsteps of Father Salbatierra. I grant your Reverence the license which you ask, to spend six months of the twelve in the year in the Californias and the other six among the Pimas, be-

cause it seems to me very expedient for the conservation and promotion of both missions that you do so; and I am writing to Father Visitor Juan Maria de Salbatierra that your Reverence may do whatever you may judge best for the stable conservation of that mission of the Californias, because from the prudence and experience of you both I am sure you will most certainly provide what is most expedient.

The map of that country of the Pimas where the servant of God, Father Francisco Xabier de Saetta, was murdered by the heathen, which your Reverence sent me with this letter, has arrived, but the eulogy, or life, which your Reverence composed [182] has not come, nor the deeds, etc. The reason plainly is that the coming of Brother Simon de Castro to Spain having been countermanded, it was necessary that a little box should go back from Bera Cruz to Mexico. I hope that they will send everything on the first occasion. The map shall be taken care of so that if the life is printed, the map may be also.

Your Reverence says that three of the principal caciques or petty kings, captains of the Pimas, were offering to send some alms for the sepulcher of our Father San Ygnazio; and I know not what to say, save that Father Kino thinks on all good, and that he has his holy Father very much at heart. Know, your Reverence, for your comfort, that the altar and sepulcher of our Holy Father is advancing well, and will be as splendid as anything of the sort in Rome. The cost is very great, the sum already expended exceeding a hundred thousand crowns. I send your Reverence the sketch and the description of what it contains, etc.

Thus far the letter of our Father General Thirzo Gonzales, who has always encouraged us greatly in these new conversions. And with these two letters, to which this chapter refers, we were animated, Father Geronimo and I, to the journey, or mission, which we made, of more than a hundred leagues to the southwest or between south and west, to the new land of the coast of the Sea of California, as I shall relate in the following chapters.

[182] For a reference to this work see volume i, 130.

CHAPTER II. EXPEDITION OR MISSION OF MORE THAN A HUNDRED LEAGUES TO THE NEW HEATHENDOM OF THE SOUTHWEST,[188] OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA, AND THE JOURNEY OF FATHER DOMINGO CRESCOLI TO HIS NEW MISSION OF LA CONZEPCION

On the occasion when the superiors sent us Father Domingo Crescoli, who was assigned to the new mission of Nuestra Señora de la Concepzion del Caborca, and father provincial, Juan Maria de Salbatierra, appointed me procurator of these new missions of this Pimeria, in the middle of January, on going to place this new laborer in his new mission, passing by the mission of San Ygnazio, where Father Agustin de Canpuz is, we passed also by the mission of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tibutama, where Father Geronimo Minutili was, and who many days before had desired to make with me a mission, or expedition, to the new heathen and new lands farther in the interior.

On this occasion we both went down twenty-two leagues with Father Domingo Crescoli to leave him in his new mission of Nuestra Señora de la Concepzion del Caborca, where we were welcomed with all pleasure on the part of the more than a thousand Indians, as well as on ours. They were waiting with arches and crosses placed along the roads, and had ready a house in which to live, a church which the venerable servant of God, Father Francisco Xabier de Saetta had built, with foundations and walls of the sanctuary, the altar of a great and very capacious church, with the good

[188] Ortega describes this journey in *Apostólicos Afanes* on page 320. See Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i, 501, where he says that Kino "was perhaps half way between Libertad and Tepoca, though he called the latitude 31°." A hundred leagues would have taken Kino to Guaymas, which he did not reach. From the description of the island it might be Tiburon. He was among the Seris, of which the Tepocas were a branch.

and large hall, store room, bakery, oven, kitchen, beginnings of a garden, with maize ready for harvest, a good field of wheat sown and sprouted, and also cattle, sheep and goats, saddle-horses, droves of mares, etc. We solemnized many baptisms of little ones and adults, etc.

Having delivered this new mission to Father Domingo Crescoli, Father Geronimo and I undertook another mission, to the part and district and heathendom which appeared to us the newest and most needy, and whither as yet no white man, perhaps, had ever entered. Having sent friendly Christian messages and guides in advance, on January 19 we also set out with our servants to the southwest, or between south and west, Father Geronimo and I, and, travelling more than a hundred leagues over many level plains, peopled with many heathen Pimas in the neighborhood of the other heathen, we arrived at the very Sea of California, and even caught sight of the mountains of California. On this journey or mission we found more than fifteen hundred Indians, very affable and gentle; for many of them had in these preceding years come to us at Nuestra Señora de la Concepzion del Caborca, and some had come even to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Everywhere they received us with all friendliness, in many places with crosses and arches placed along the roads and with little houses provided in which to live and say mass with decency. And we having in all parts preached the principal mysteries of our Holy Faith, they promised us what we counseled and asked of them, namely, that inasmuch as these coasts were somewhat sterile, they should go to live in the very fertile and very convenient fields of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion, since now we had brought them a father mis-

sionary. They gave us many infants and some sick adults to baptize. And as, even without this, most of these natives, called by the justices of La Concepzion de Caborca, had come to the tasks of sowing, harvesting, and building at La Concepcion, they agreed that little by little they would join themselves completely to said settlement, or mission, of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion.

CHAPTER III. DISCOVERY OF THE NEW ISLAND OF SANTA YNES, AND OF THE NEW CAPE OF SAN VIZENTE, ON THE GULF OF THE SEA OF CALIFORNIA, IN LATITUDE THIRTY-ONE DEGREES NORTH

Father Geronimo Minutili, having labored with much fervor in this expedition, afterward gave an account of our mission, or journey, to the fathers of California. God granted that jointly we should discover in this latitude thirty-one in this Gulf of the Sea of California a great island, which must be about three leagues in width from east to west, and about seven or eight leagues in length from north to south, and no more than about six or seven leagues from this our terra firma, or coast. Because we discovered this new island on the twenty-first of January, we named it the Island of Santa Ynes.[184]

To the northwest of this island of Santa Ynes about three leagues we very plainly discovered, on the next day, January 22, from a slight elevation, another large piece of land, apparently a part of California. Although we were in some doubt whether it was also an island or land contiguous and continuous, or mainland, with California itself, we concluded that it must

[184] Apparently Tiburon Island. To this day a bay and a point on the coast near this island bear the name of Kino.

be that part of California which, as Captain Francisco de Ortega states in one of his relations, extends in these places very far toward the east and toward these coasts of New Spain. We saw that it was no more than nine or ten leagues from us. What we knew to be very certain from all the surrounding natives, now, in this journey, as well as on many other occasions when we have inquired of these Pimas and maritime Zeris, with repeated and minute examinations of this Gulf of California, was and is that all this point and its environs are very thickly settled with many people, for by night fires are continually seen from this side, and by day their smoke. As we discovered this point, so near by, on January 21, day of the Glorious San Vizente, we named it the Point or Cape of San Vizente, with apologies to the inhabitants and owners and commanders of San Bizente in Europe.

On this coast of the Sea of California the spring was now beginning, after its fashion, for many of those plains were beginning to grow green and blossom. There were many birds which lived on the very many fish with which this coast very greatly abounds. There was much medicinal *jojoba*, which is like the almond, and a very salutary and effective remedy for different kinds of sickness, and is in demand as far as Mexico, Pueblo, Parral, New Mexico, etc. On this coast it usually bears all the year, and in fact we found it on this occasion, for on some shrubs it was now ripe, on others still somewhat tender, and on others[135]. . . [We returned with] all prosperity, thanks be to the Lord, to the new mission of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Caborca, where with all kindness Father Domingo Crescoli received us, with all his children. We solemnized some baptisms and marriages.

[135] An omission occurs in the transcript at this point.

CHAPTER IV. MY RETURN TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES, AND A LETTER WHICH THE FATHER VISITOR, FRANCISCO MARIA PICOLO, WRITES ME IN REGARD TO THE FINDING OF THE NEW ISLAND OF SANTA YNES

Having left Father Domingo Crescoli to all appearances well content at his new mission of La Concepzion del Caborca, all the children also being greatly pleased, we came to San Pedro y San Pablo del Tibutama, Father Geronimo and I. Afterward, passing by the district, or mission, of Father Agustin de Canpuz, I arrived with my servants, thanks to the Lord, with good fortune, at this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Finding letters from different persons, I answered them, giving some account of my absence from this house and of our journey to La Conzepcion and to the Sea of California, and the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, wrote me the following letter from Bacadeguych on February 17:

> They are calling me to mass and to give ashes to the children of this pueblo of Bacadeguych, and, the function over, I shall set out, God willing, for Saguaripa.[186] I rejoice that your Reverence has been the companion of Father Domingo Crescoli, and that you have left him well and sound in his new mission. Your Reverence is procurator not only of the Pimeria, but of the whole country, and the comfort of the souls and of the fathers. God grant me of His grace to see and enjoy the fruit of your apostolic toils, although it be in passing, as I expect. As soon as possible I shall write to Father Xavier de Mora, that he may extend his charity to Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion del Caborca, so that in every respect Father Crescoli may be relieved. I rejoice at the finding of the new Island of Santa Ynez, but in regard to this point I shall write to your Reverence hastily, because now I am ready to set out, and I do not wish to delay the courier. God willing we shall see the father of this district and speak to him and arrange for what can be done, etc.

[186] In the Yaqui River Valley. This was the native town which destroyed Coronado's settlement of San Gerónimo.

Thus far Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo. Father Horacio Polize, who has always been most interested in these new discoveries and new conversions, wrote me from Baseraca on February 21 that the father visitor, with great pleasure to himself, had been with his Reverence for the space of ten days. All those who look with favor upon the new conquests and new conversions of this Pimeria as well as of California have considered it very fortunate that this point of San Vizente should be so very close and this island of Santa Ynes in this convenient half-way latitude of thirty-one degrees, to promote the communication, which, God willing, in His time can be opened in California between the fathers who actually live in the Real and in the missions of Nuestra Señora de Loreto Concho, in the latitude of twenty-six and twenty-seven degrees, and the fathers who, by the Divine Grace, also in His time, will be able to live in the land passage to California, and in the very populous missions which can be had on the very populous and large volumed Rio Colorado, which will be in thirty-five and thirty-six degrees of latitude, where there is also a land passage to the opposite coast and the South Sea, and where every year the ship from China and galleon from the Philippines is accustomed to pass, coming to the port of Acapulco of this new Spain, and from Asia to this America.

CHAPTER V. LENTEN MISSION OF MORE THAN FIFTY LEAGUES TO THE NORTHWEST AND TO THE WEST, FROM FEBRUARY 27 TO MARCH 20, 1706, PENETRATING TO SAN AMBROSSIO DEL BUSANIC, TO EL TIBUTAMA, AND TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CONCEPCION DEL CABORCA[187]

After having given ashes and confessed the greater part of the people of this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, on the twenty-seventh of February I set out with my servants to go to give ashes to and confess the people of the interior. I went first to the other pueblos of my administration, to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and to Santiago de Cocospera; and while during these three days I gave the children the accustomed instruction in the Christian doctrine, heard some confessions and performed some baptisms, my servants planted in each pueblo a good garden of quinces, pomegranates, fig trees, peaches, grape-vines for wine for masses, and many kinds of garden stuff, in all of which the garden of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores greatly abounds.

MARCH 2. On the second of March I went down, summoned by Father Agustin de Canpos, to Santa Maria Magdalena, fifteen leagues distant, and viewed the timbers and arches of the[188]. . .

4th. On the fourth I arrived at the ranch of San Simon y San Judas Tadeo del Siboda, fourteen leagues' journey.

5th. On the fifth I gave ashes to about thirty persons in the little new church, and after mass there was a discourse and Christian instruction and explanation of

[187] This journey is given brief mention by Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 321.

[188] Two lines here can not be read as they have been cut off in the original.

the holy function of the ashes and of lenten confession. There were several confessions by people here and by various outsiders, for some had come from San Ambrosio del Busanic and from San Xavier del Bac.

6th. On the sixth, after sixteen leagues' journey, we arrived at San Ambrosio del Busanic, despatching from El Aquimuri to Santa Gertrudis del Saric the drove of twenty mares, with their jack and burro, which were being taken to Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion for California. We arrived at midnight, in order not to fail to say the mass the following day, the third Sunday of Lent, to the children in their little church; for we had notified them before hand that I would give ashes and hear confessions of holy Lent.

7th. On the seventh ashes were given, there were a discourse and confessions by the Christian people, and, as I took with me the *guacinques*, or carpenters, from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, there was some building on the church, which I shall tell of in the following chapter. In the afternoon we passed on to Santa Gertrudes del Saric, three leagues distant, for the same Lenten functions, etc.

8th. On March 8 there were ashes, mass, a discourse, confessions, and twenty-seven baptisms, of infants and three sick people, and ten marriages according to the forms of the church. In the afternoon I went on to the pueblo of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, ten leagues' journey, where I found Father Geronimo Minutuli, who, with his accustomed great charity welcomed us with all kindness; and, I having told him that I came with my *guasinques* to build on this new church and to go on to Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion del Caborca, his Reverence said to me that he would go on with me to aid in the confessions, etc.

9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th. On the ninth and tenth we built on the new church. On the eleventh, setting out at midday, after a seven leagues' journey, passing by the new pueblo of Santa Thereza, we arrived at San Anttonio del Uquitoa; and on the twelfth, passing by the new incipient pueblo of San Diego del Pitquin, we arrived at Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion, where the very courteous children received us very affectionately.

On the thirteenth we gave ashes to the people and heard many confessions. We inspected the building and garden with which in the preceding expedition we had charged these children; and insomuch as on the twelfth of this month many letters had come to me, and among them one from Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo, saying that his Reverence would shortly come to this Pimeria, as he said, to give thanks for the discovery and finding of the new island of Santa Ynes, and of the new cape of San Visente in the Gulf of the Sea of California, I arranged to return quickly to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. And on the fourteenth, having preached with much fervor to the children of La Concepcion and said her mass for them, passing on to say it for those of San Diego del Pitquin, in the afternoon we all went on to San Antonio del Uquitoa and afterward to San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, to Santa Maria Magdalena, and to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

CHAPTER VI. BY THIS MISSION OR JOURNEY THE BUILDING OF SIX NEW CHURCHES IS ADVANCED AT THE SAME TIME; AND A RARE EXAMPLE OF THE RIPENESS OF THE HARVEST OF SOULS, EVEN AMONG THE DISTANT QUIQUIMAS OF CALIFORNIA ALTA

At this same time, in this nearer Pimeria, we had in hand the building of the churches of Father Agustin de Campos's pueblo of Santa Maria Magdalena, and of San Ambrosio del Busanic, Santa Gertrudis del Saric, San Pedro y San Pablo de Tibutama, San Diego del Pitquin, Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion del Cavorca, and others. Through the mission set forth in the preceding chapter it was attempted to advance the building of these six; and to this end I took with me the *guasinques*, or carpenters, now somewhat expert, of this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores; and so on March 2, and on my return after the month of March, I was in Santa Maria Magdalena, seeing to the cutting and squaring of the timbers for the building and the arches of the sanctuary of the very good church which Father Agustin de Campos was building.

On March 7, as they already had in San Ambrosio del Busanic a good supply of adobes and some timbers, we raised the walls of a good, capacious church. We wrought and placed on the doors of the church and of the sacristy and of the baptistry the entablatures of very good timbers, and arranged that they should continue on the building of the church of San Ambrosio del Busanic, and on the neighboring one of Santa Gertrudis del Saric, since for both there were crops of maize, and cattle, and sheep and goats, and whatever else was necessary.

On the ninth, tenth, and eleventh of March on the journey or mission to Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion

del Caborca, and afterwards on the return, we also built on the new church of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, laying the foundations of a good sacristy and of the baptistry, and of a good, capacious hall, as well as raising the walls of the same church, and especially of the sanctuary, and cutting and working the timbers, brackets, beams, and arches, or lintels, etc. Also, we looked after the very good garden of Castilian fruit trees, vines for wine for masses, and all kinds of garden-stuff, etc.

On the thirteenth and fourteenth of March, and before and after, we worked on the church of Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion del Cavorca, laying the foundations of its buildings and raising their walls and those of the sanctuary, and on the church of San Diego del Pitquin. And at the time when, on the seventh of March, we were working on the church of San Ambrosio del Busanic a very rare thing happened to me, from which may be inferred the great ripeness of the very extensive harvests of the very many souls that the celestial favors of our Lord are continually giving us with full hands. It was that the captain of this incipient pueblo of San Ambrosio del Busanic, called Don Marcos, whom Father Visitor Oracio Police baptised at the time of his holy visit, as has been set forth in its place, gave me a scalp which the captain of the Quiquima nation of the land passage to California, or to California Alta itself, had just sent me. This scalp was one of the other neighboring nation, Noabonoma,[189] and was that of a priest, or *ponze*,[189a] of theirs, and the only one who opposed himself to the good Christian teachings which we had taken to these new nations in

[189] See *Hoabonoma*. Ortega spells it *Abobonoma* (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 321).

[189a] *Bonze*, a Buddhist priest.

our journeys, and therefore the captain of this extensive Quiquima nation had killed him as malevolent and a sower of darnel. With this and with other gifts of blue shells from the opposite coast, etc., he sent to tell me that we could well go to baptize all those people, for now there was none that would try to oppose us, since they had killed the only man who made opposition, and that as a sign they were sending his scalp.

CHAPTER VII. SOME DEPREDATIONS WHICH HOSTILE APACHES COMMIT IN THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA, BUT WITHOUT HINDERING THE QUIET, AND, THANKS BE TO THE LORD, THE VERY PACIFIC AND GOOD PROGRESS OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

General Juan Matheo Manje, who a short time before had been alcalde mayor of all this province of Sonora, on the twenty-seventh of March wrote me from the Real de Bacanuchi the following letter:

> I am writing to inform your Reverence that yesterday at sunset many hostile Apaches made an attack on the house of Juan de Baldes, which is two leagues down the river from here. They killed an Indian, Ysidro, of Arispe, and shot the *pardo* Blas, who was a servant of Captain Peralta, and if it had not been for Miguel Bernal, who had an arquebus, all the people of the house would have perished. They took all the horses, and the same day they carried off the drove of horses of Baso Chuca and Monte Grande. At the same time they attacked the corral of Arispe; all the arrows that they shot, which were more than two hundred, are those of Apaches and Jocomes. I wish that your Reverence might advise and incite the Pima rancherías to overtake them and take away from them these droves of horses, for we are without horses and isolated. God defend us and guard your Reverence; there is no help; the land is lost; we now wish to abandon it, etc.

On the twenty-fifth of April the said General Juan Matheo Manje wrote me the following:

> The nineteenth day of last month the enemy killed two

Christian Indians here near Bacanuche, and on the twenty-second of the month day dawned with the house of Captain Peralta, of Basochuca, surrounded by enemies, whence they carried off eighteen horses. On the twenty-fourth near Cumupas they shot two Indians of the pueblo, whence they carried off a number of horses. On the twenty-sixth they made an attack on the house of Baldes; in this valley we have just buried the *pardo* Blas, etc.; and there is no help, for they only report, but falsely, that all is at peace, etc.

Thus far General Juan Matheo Manje. And it is a fact that at this very same time, at the end of March, in Holy Week, they came to make attack even upon this wheat and the fields of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, but as these Pima children saw it, as soon as they gave a cry as if calling their people, the three hostile Apaches took flight in such fear that they dropped everything they had and were carrying. One threw away even the quiver for his arrows, and his bow, and the boots or shoes which the Apaches use, and the tail of a beef which they had killed. As the bow which one of them threw away was of medium size, Father Agustin Campos, when told of this visit of the Apaches, wrote that this little Apache must be still a novice.

And so it is that the common sorrow of all the province is that for so many years it has not been helped nor freed from so many and continued invasions, robberies, and murders by so many hostile Hocomes, Apaches, and Xanos, etc. It is true, however, meanwhile, in these new conquests and conversions, that in the midst of the many contradictions and such opposition on the part of the natives of more than two hundred leagues of new lands and new nations, His Divine Majesty is pleased, with his most merciful and paternal providence, to conserve us in the utmost peace and quietude with continual new discoveries of more new peoples and nations, who each day with more fervor are desir-

ing and asking our Holy Catholic faith and father ministers and holy baptism. And many baptisms are being solemnized, and new churches and very good settlements of new Christians, with new progress in spiritual and temporal matters, are being made, lacking nothing but the necessary father ministers, whom, however, thanks be to His Divine Majesty, the higher superiors promise us now, and whom the loving providence of our Lord will give us when it is best.

CHAPTER VIII. TWO MISSIONS OR EXPEDITIONS TO THE NORTH, AFTER EASTER AND AFTER THE MIDDLE OF APRIL, FOR CONFESSIONS, BAPTISMS, AND MARRIAGES, AND TO BEGIN WORK UPON THE HOUSES AND LITTLE CHURCHES OF SANTA MARIA BUGOTA AND SAN LAZARO [140]

Having held Holy Week and Easter here with a great concourse of Spaniards and of natives from the interior, among whom, on Holy Saturday, April 3, the captain of San Xavier del Bac came with three other captains, sixty leagues' journey, I made a mission, or expedition, to the north, setting out from here on April 7, and taking with me the captain of the pueblo and the governor of Nuestra Señora de Los Remedios, a *temastian*, three *quasinques*, or carpenters, and three other servants. I entered by way of Los Remedios, Cocospera, and San Lazaro, to Santa Maria Bugota; and having in all places heard confessions and instructed the catechumens, and solemnized the baptisms and marriages that offered, we began work at the same time on the house of Santa Maria Bugota, which is in a very pleasant valley, and on that of San Lazaro, in Santa Maria,[140a] which is about twenty-two leagues distant from here.

[140] This chapter is briefly summarized by Ortega, *ibid.*, 321-322.

[140a] He means, evidently, in the valley of the Santa Maria [Santa Cruz] River.

We laid the foundations of a good, capacious hall and of two good lodges, and we began to raise their walls, for already some little storerooms had been made, with a little hall; and the foundations were also already made of a good and large church, with its transept, for which the *quasinques* cut twenty pine beams and forty oak brackets, and other wall timbers for the house; and an order was left that they should continue making adobes and building and finishing the capacious hall, that it might serve as a little church in which to say mass with decency while the great church was being built. And also at San Lasaro, which is three leagues this way, we began another little hall with two lodges. It is a post very suitable for a good pueblo and for a very good ranch, and, indeed, some corrals had already been made. We left at that post twenty-three beef cattle with their cow-boys; and, since four leagues farther to the northwest, at the opening of the very pleasant valley of Guebavi, there is another very good post and ranchería, with its little church and earth-covered house of adobe, which might be the third pueblo of a very good district, or mission, the first father whom our Lord shall be pleased to bring for the eternal salvation of so many poor creatures will have a very convenient administration. On January 24 I made another mission, or expedition, to Santa Maria and San Lazaro; and while I was engaged in this building at Santa Maria, I received a letter from Father Geronimo Minutuli from San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama in regard to the Quiquimas, which I shall place in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IX. LETTER FROM FATHER GERONIMO MINUTULI SAYING THAT THE QUIQUIMAS WERE SENDING ME GIFTS, AND THAT THEY WERE SENDING FOR ME TO COME TO BAPTIZE THEM [141]

On April 17 Father Geronimo Minutuli wrote me the following letter:

> Fernando, he of Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion del Cavorca, brings to your Reverence thirteen curious [blank], and other gifts, of blue shells, from the opposite coast as a memento of them. Taking your Reverence's consent for granted, I am keeping three, and so they go to your Reverence. May God be pleased to dispose things in such a way that their conversion to our Holy faith may not be greatly delayed, etc.

Thus far Father Geronimo Minutuli. Many of these Quiquimas had come from their lands of California Alta to the neighborhood and vicinity of San Marzelo del Sonoydag, travelling more than forty leagues' journey for the purpose of coming personally to see me and call me to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. But, as some became wearied and others had some fear and suspicion of going through such different peoples and new lands, they determined to send those gifts and to send for me to go to San Marzelo to meet them. Meanwhile they were sustaining themselves at the sea near by with scant provisions of fish alone, and lacking for the space of more than two months their accustomed good maize, beans, pumpkins, etc., with which all the year this Quiquima nation abounds in their own lands. And as during all this time, with my very many occupations, I did not go and was unable to go to see them, they returned to their lands very disconsolate, and only the coming of the necessary fathers will be able to assuage such pitiful grief. *Parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui fran-*

[141] The contents of this chapter are briefly summarized by Ortega.

geret eis.[142] I sent to console them as best I could, saying that, God willing, we should set out on the journey, and that when shortly in the next month of May I could go to the wheat harvest of Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion we would see and speak with one another.

CHAPTER X. MISSION OR JOURNEY TO THE WESTWARD, TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CONSEPCION DEL CAVORCA; BUILDING, FEAST, AND SOLEMN PROCESSION OF CORPUS CHRISTI IN THE PUEBLO OF SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO DEL TUBUTAMA[143]

On May 13 I set out on a mission, or journey, of about fifty leagues to Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion del Cavorca, and at the same time I tried to advance the building of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama as well as those of La Consepcion. On the 23rd of May, as the walls of the church, and particularly those of the sanctuary, were already high, we adorned and roofed them with branches, straw, and flowers, as best we could, and held the feast and solemn procession of Corpus Christi, carrying therefor from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores the good choir of singers, and the ornaments, hangings, canopy, censer, clarion-players, wax, etc. There was a great concourse of people, Christians as well as catechumens. There were many baptisms, among them that of the governor of the very great ranchería del Humucan, who promised that with his many people who were present and were accustomed always to assist at the tasks of the building of the church, he would come and live in some pueblo, where some father missionary should minister, especially because that ranchería of Umucan, like the others of the

[142] "The little ones have asked for bread and there was none to break it unto them" (*Lam.*, iv, 4).

[143] The contents of this chapter are omitted by Ortega.

coast in general, has lands less fertile and lacking in water-holes, etc., and as farther inland, to the eastward, we usually have valleys more fertile and very pleasant, with abundance of rich, good lands, rivers, excellent pastures, champaigns, fields of wheat, and of maize, and ranches, etc. Father Geronimo Minutuli catechised and instructed all those children very well, before baptism and at the time of baptism.

After this feast of Corpus Christi I came with my people to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to hold here also on the following Sunday, the same solemnity and feast of Corpus Christi, to which many Spaniards came with many natives of this vicinity and of the interior, and from the mining camps near-by. And all rejoiced that now also in the interior at the pueblo of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama there should have been this first feast of our Lord and of Christ crucified, and that as the triumph of our holy Catholic faith had come far inland, with well founded hopes that the necessary father ministers were coming, our holy Catholic faith must triumph in all this North America.

CHAPTER XI. THE FATHERS OF CALIFORNIA DESIRE AND ATTEMPT TO OPEN COMMUNICATION AND COMMERCE WITH THE PIMERIA BY WAY OF THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED ISLAND OF SANTA YNES, AND BY THE NEW CAPE OF SAN VICENTE OF THIS CALIFORNIAN GULF IN THIRTY-ONE DEGREES OF LATITUDE

Father Geronimo Minutuli on June 7 wrote me the following letter.

> I have just received letters from California from Father Ugarte and Brother Jaime Bravo, who salute your Reverence by name, etc. And Father Rector Juan Ugarte has rejoiced greatly at the discovery which your Reverence made of the new

Island of Santa Ynes and of the Cape of San Vicente of the Sea of California, and at the other things concerning this matter, for I wrote to his Reverence that you had seen it and his Reverence says that when he has enough provisions he will go on to explore it; but that the succor which is detained in Guaimas had not yet arrived. Therefore he greatly desires the commerce and nearer aid of the Pimeria, etc. This is in substance what his Reverence says, which it has seemed to me well to impart to your Reverence as soon as possible, that your Reverence continuing with your great charity and zeal, this Pima-California gate may be opened soon, etc. I shall greatly rejoice if your Reverence has had a very joyful feast of Corpus Christi. May he pay your Reverence for the toils which the material and spiritual foundation of this church costs you. I write at no greater length on account of the bearer's haste.

Thus far Father Geronimo Minutuli. And although I have always recognized and now recognize that this passage and commerce by way of the Island of Santa Ynes and of the Cape of San Vicente at thirty-one degrees latitude can not give particular difficulty, and can be the means of great relief and advancement to the new conversions and new missions of California Baxa, where already so gloriously the fathers above mentioned are toiling, as well as of California Alta, which is the nearest and closest to the land passage to California, my very many occupations, and especially the total lack of the father missionaries necessary for so great a harvest of souls as we have in hand together with the accustomed contradiction and opposition of some disaffected ones, have prevented and now prevent me from continuing the search for the very easy discovery of this new and very short passage to California. For, as it is no more than eight or ten leagues across a very peaceful and sheltered sea, even with some good canoes, or launches, or medium-sized vessels, this way and commerce can be opened and continued. And if,

as Father Visitor Oracio Police had determined at the time of his holy visit, a father companion had been given me, who at the time of my absence would have supplied my place in these my three pueblos of my administration, that way, as well as others, with other good things, could have been opened long since. But perhaps it is not yet too late and that this and much more shall be done when it is most expedient, for *Non enim abbreviata est manus Domini.*[144]

CHAPTER XII. LETTER OF GENERAL JUAN FERNANDES DE LA FUENTE, WHO, FAVORING THE ABOVE MENTIONED MISSIONS, OR JOURNEYS, WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE, GIVES ASSURANCE THAT MORE WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED AND GAINED BY THE RELIGIOUS CHARITY OF THE FATHERS THAN BY THE MILITARY WEAPONS OF THE SOLDIERS[145]

The very experienced and valorous general Juan Fernandes de la Fuente, from the Real de Quisuani on the fifth of July wrote me among other points the following:

> More than any one else I rejoice at the prosperity with which that new Christendom is increasing, and at the many nations which are asking fathers to minister to them, and especially the Cocomaricopas. Your Reverence has done very well to bring them to the presence of the Father Rector Melchor, who, it may be, will give his approval to our Father Provincial, that he may send the fathers. And I can see that if all the fathers who today are in that Pima nation and the environs are united, your Reverence's glorious purpose will soon be accomplished. God grant that so it may happen, and that soon the very short way by the sea[146] and the passage by land to the Californias may be secured, which will be a means of much re-

[144] "The hand of the Lord is not shortened" (*Isaias*, lix, i).

[145] The contents of this chapter are omitted by Ortega.

[146] The reference is to the proposed route by the Island of Santa Inez.

lief for all; and in fine, my Father, if God grants that all the nations that your Reverence tells me have come to see you be reduced, we may promise ourselves a more than splendid Christendom. And with the expeditions which your Reverence is making to their lands, and with your invitations, feasts, and processions, and charitable treatment, the drawing of them to the true knowledge will be accomplished with more facility than if one entered with many arquebusiers. I know that if that communication by sea and land be opened there will be many who will go and come to the Californias, etc.; and as to the journey which your Reverence is determined to make after the summer, may his Divine Majesty grant that all may result in his honor and glory and the reduction and salvation of so great a number of souls for whom Christ our Lord shed His most precious blood. They must not be permitted to lack holy baptism; and by the context of the letter of my Father Geronimo Minutuli, I recognize that he is contented in Tubutama and that he is encouraging your Reverence and the reverend fathers who are in the Californias, that this gate to the Californias by sea and land may be opened shortly. God grant that it may come to pass in your Reverence's time and that in all you may see the glorious end of your labors accomplished, for which you will have the reward of his Divine Majesty. May He guard me your Reverence, etc.

Thus far General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente. And with this letter, so Christian, I close this book in regard to the first months of this year 1706, and pass on to Book Four, dealing with the other six months.

BOOK IV. OF THE LAST SIX MONTHS OF THIS YEAR, 1706, AND PRINCIPALLY OF THE MISSION, OR EXPEDITION, WHICH WAS LEGALLY MADE BY ORDER OF GENERAL DON JACINTO DE FUEN SALDAÑA, CAPTAIN FOR LIFE AND MILITARY COMMANDER OF THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA, WITH ALFEREZ JUAN MATHEO RAMIRES, COMMANDER JUAN DURAN, AND FRAY MANUEL DE LA OYUELA, OF THE SACRED ORDER OF THE SERAPHIC SAN FRANCISCO

CHAPTER I. WITH THE NEWS THAT FATHERS ARE COMING FROM EUROPE, LABORERS ARE PROMISED US FOR THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, AND REPORTS ARE ASKED OF US AND ARE GIVEN IN REGARD TO THE NUMBER OF THE FATHERS THAT ARE NEEDED IN THEM

Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo on July 18 wrote me from Belen de Guaimas the following letter:

> I have answered all your Reverence's letters. Now I beseech your Reverence to please inform me by a messenger how many are the missions founded by the king our Lord in the Pimeria, how many fathers are necessary, and must be placed in missions. Let the report be made with all detail, because I desire very much to see the Pimeria advanced in my time; and it will not remain backward so far as my efforts, labors, and sweat may avail, for personally, God giving me strength, I shall place the fathers in their districts.

Thus far Father Visitor Francisco Maria Picolo.

And Father Rector Melchor Bartiromo, asking a reward for the good news, on July 29 writes me the following:

> I have just received a letter from the father visitor with these words: "Your Reverence will advise me at once how many fathers are necessary for the Pimeria and how many missions the king our Lord has founded. Report them with the names of the places and posts as well as of the saints to whom they are dedicated." I now ask your Reverence that you, as more experienced, inform me thereof, in order at once to answer the father visitor, for it is of importance because persons are coming from Spain.

Thus far the father rector. In virtue of these two letters I immediately made the reports which were asked of me, one of which I despatched by a messenger to San Joseph de Guaimas to the father visitor, who sent it to Mexico to the father provincial. As his Reverence wrote me, he despatched it to Rome to our father general. This report was accompanied by the long relation of all the posts suitable for very good districts and missions in this Pimeria, with a very clear map of the nine pueblos which we three fathers who have lived in this Pimeria are actually administering, Father Agustin de Campos at San Ygnacio, Santa Maria Magdalena, and San Joseph de Ymires, Father Geronimo Minutuli at San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, Santa Thereza, and San Anttonio del Uquitoa, and I here at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Nuestra Señor de los Remedios, and Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Santiago de Cocospera; an account of the other five alms which his Royal Majesty, God save him, had granted for five other new fathers and five new missions; and the opinion that therefore immediately, besides us three missionary fathers who were here in our three already settled districts, or missions, at least five others

could come for five other good districts, or new missions; and that accordingly the fourth Pima father could come for Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion del Caborca, San Diego del Pitquin, and San Valentin, the fifth for Santa Maria, San Lazaro, and San Luys; the sixth for San Ambrosio del Busanic, Santa Gertrudis del Saric, and San Bernardo del Aquimuri; the seventh for San Xavier del Bac, San Agustin, and Santa Rosalia, of the Sobaipuris; the eighth for Santa Ana del Quiburi, San Juachin, and Santa Cruz, where lives the famous Captain Coro. For in all these posts or pueblos already named there are very good beginnings of Christianity, houses in which to live, churches in which to say mass, fields and crops of wheat and maize, and the cattle, sheep, goats, and horses, which the natives for years have been tending with all fidelity for the fathers whom they ask and hope to receive.

CHAPTER II. LETTER FROM THE FATHER VISITOR, FRANCISCO PICOLO, IN REGARD TO THE RECEIPT AND DESPATCH TO MEXICO OF THE REPORT AND THE MAP OF THE NEW MISSIONS, FOUNDED AND TO BE FOUNDED, OF THIS PIMERIA

As soon as I had with all possible speed made the report, map, and relation of the posts most suitable for the good and convenient missions and districts of this Pimeria, I despatched them by messenger to the father visitor, Francisco Maria Picolo, who had asked me for them; and his Reverence wrote me from Belen the following letter:

> On my return from San Marcial I am in receipt of your Reverence's most delightful letter with the map and detailed reports of the missions of our Pimeria. God grant us the boon of seeing it animated with zealous fathers like those who are apostolically toiling in it now. I had set out to visit your Reverences and discuss in your presence the condition of the missions

which need fathers; but it was not possible to pass on because of the rains, bogs, rivers, heat, and my lack of strength, and I returned on the Vesper of our Lady. Now if your Reverence's courier and messenger had asked for me on the road from Los Ures he would have found me at San Marcial with Father Rector Fernando Bayerca and Father Manuel Gonzales, who went on to Movas.[146a] As the father provincial asked me for the reply with all promptness, I have answered his Reverence telling him that the missions founded in the Pimeria were seven, but from your Reverence's report I find there are eight. I am again writing to the Father Provincial, sending him your Reverence's letter, etc.

Thus far the father visitor. As I said above, I afterward had a letter from the father provincial stating that these papers had been sent to Rome; and I shall add another letter by a secular gentleman who at this same time was taking the same measures to secure missionary fathers.

CHAPTER III. LETTER FROM GENERAL JUAN MATHEO MANJE STATING THAT THERE HAVE BEEN ASKED OF HIM AND THAT HE IS ARRANGING TO PRINT RELATIONS AND REPORTS CONDUCIVE TO THE COMING OF THE NECESSARY MISSIONARY FATHERS TO THIS PIMERIA[147]

On September 15 General Juan Matheo Manje, who shortly before was alcalde mayor of this province, wrote me the following letter:

The licenciate and advocate, Don Miguel de Torrises y Cano, has an order from the Señor viceroy to add, if it shall be necessary, thirty other soldiers; and said licenciate has employed humble me to send by his hand to the viceroy all the diaries and itineraries of the discoveries of nations which I have made with your Reverence.[148] I have already copied five and set

[146a] Movas is on the Rio Chico about thirty miles above its junction with the Rio Yaqui.

[147] Contents of this chapter omitted by Ortega.

[148] This paragraph seems to explain the circumstances of the compilation of Manje's *Lux de Tierra Incógnita*, or at least the beginning of it.

forth the advantage which may follow for God and the King from the thirty soldiers and father laborers for the reduced nations, the Sobas, Pimas, Sobaipuris, Cocomaricopas, and the Yumas of the Rio Colorado, where, I state, a villa can be founded which will serve as a haven and ante-mural and refuge for reducing the other nations, the Moquis, the Apachis, and the nations of the north, northwest, and west, as far as the South Sea, and a refuge for the navigators from China, with well-founded hopes of minerals; and that this squadron will serve not only for these frontiers, but also to visit the nations which shall be reduced to our holy faith and to punish any malevolent nation that may disquiet the others, in order that the father laborers whom I ask can be secure in preaching the law to the Holy Gospel. I have already written about one hundred sheets, and I am still writing the rest; but the itinerary of the journey which we made with your Reverence and Father Anttonio Leal is lacking.[149] Let me ask your Reverence to send it to me, and if you do not find it please send me a short account from the day that we set out until we returned, the number of leagues which we traveled and the souls that we counted, for I remember the rest of the course, the country, etc.

Thus far General Juan Matheo Manje, who always with very Christian zeal is very fond of these new conquests and conversions, as he has always given us to understand by his journeys, his writings, and his maps.

CHAPTER IV. AT THIS SAME TIME THE PRINCIPAL NATIVES AND CACIQUES, CAPTAINS, AND GOVERNORS OF THE NORTH AND NORTHEAST AS WELL AS OF THE NORTHWEST, SENT MESSENGERS WITH A HOLY CROSS AND OTHER GIFTS, AND WITH URGENT PRAYERS TO ASK FOR FATHERS AND HOLY BAPTISM[150]

SEPTEMBER 8, 1706. On September 8, feast of the Nativity of Mary Most Holy, Captain Coro, who in

[149] In his *Luz de Tierra Incógnita* Manje gives a full diary of this expedition. It may be based on one borrowed from Kino.

[150] The contents of this chapter are omitted by Ortega. See *Apostólicos Afanes*, 323.

baptism was called Anttonio Leal, came to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. He brought with him many natives of the interior and with them the Governor of Cocospora, who is called Francisco Pacheco. Captain Coro told us in public that this past month of August, as soon as the rains had slackened, he with some of his people had penetrated to the northward as far as the Sobaipuris of San Xavier del Bac, about fifty leagues beyond his ranchería of Santa Ana del Quiburi, and toward the northeast as far as the other Sobaipuris of the Valley of San Salvador,[151] at a distance of more than sixty leagues, and that all those governors and captains in all parts had come to see him; and with all the other very many natives of those districts which he penetrated, they asked him to come to see me and to ask me to go to see them and to baptize them, for with all their hearts they wished to be Christians.

Also, they sent very friendly messages and remembrances to all the other fathers of these missions and to the alcalde mayor and to all the lieutenants, to the captain of the presidio, to all the Spaniards, and to the other natives and to Christians, sending me at the same time therefor a holy cross, and upon it noted the principal sixteen great rancherías which with urgency were asking me for holy baptism. At this same time, on August 28, I found out from the governor of San Marzelo, a ranchería or incipient pueblo of the northwest, ninety leagues distant from here, from the justices of this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and from Spanish witnesses, that the Yumas and Quiquimas of the northwest and of the land passage to California, had sent requests, and gifts of blue shells from the opposite coast, asking me to come to see them and baptize at least their infants.

[151] San Salvador del Bai-cat-can, in the San Pedro River Valley.

Now the messages from the Pimas were from one hundred and seventy leagues' journey, and those from the Quiquimas were from two hundred leagues; and the blue shells, which occur only on the opposite coast of California and the South Sea, came almost three hundred leagues. And at the same time that they are calling us by the land passage to California Alta, in a long letter from Father Rector Juan de Ugarte, which I shall place in the following chapter, they are also calling me by the short sea passage to California Baxa. I shall only add here that at this same time a disaffected person made a spiteful, malicious report against California, in regard to which Father Rector Melchor Bartiromo wrote me the following, on the 7th of September:

> The iniquitous report against California makes no difference to me, because the Devil will hinder as far as the Lord will allow, and he avails himself of men; but God is above all. Remember, your Reverence, that they have spoken against the Pimeria, but notwithstanding, God is sustaining it and advancing it until it may all become Christian. *Non est Concilium Contra Dominum.*[152]

Thus far Father Rector Melchor Bartiromo.

[152] "There is no counsel against the Lord."

CHAPTER V. LETTER FROM THE FATHER RECTOR OF CALIFORNIA, JUAN DE UGARTE, IN REGARD TO A LAUNCH FOR THE MORE IMMEDIATE COMMUNICATION OF THESE MISSIONS OF THIS PROVINCE WITH CALIFORNIA BY THE SHORT PASSAGE OF EIGHT OR NINE LEAGUES AT MOST, IN THIRTY-ONE DEGREES LATITUDE; HE INVITES ME TO CROSS OVER TO CALIFORNIA[153]

SEPTEMBER 7, 1706. From Loreto Concho, California, Father Rector Juan Ugarte wrote me the following letter on September 7:

I am in receipt of two letters from your Reverence, one of June 20, the other of July 2, both very gratifying because of the news of your Reverence's health (God prosper it for His great glory and the good of many souls), as well as because of what they both contain in regard to the laudable zeal and purpose of your Reverence and of the fathers for the opening of communication through a port near to that province, from which succor has been plentiful. Taking for granted the determination of your Reverence and of the fathers, it is necessary for me, as one who at great cost has had experience with vessels, to advise your Reverence, so that your worthy desire and its fulfillment may not be delayed, but rather facilitated. Let me say, then, that although your Reverence may have timbers, and people, and even artisans to build, although you may have iron, sails, cables, tow-ropes, bars, and on the beach a good place to launch the vessel, there would necessarily always be anxiety and expenditure of time; and, after all, since the vessel comes out at your expense, what appeals to me as best is that, in any case, the fathers who wish to coöperate in the building be urged to buy a launch already made, with anchors, cables, and sails. They will save more than half the expense and, what is the most necessary and precious, time. It cost General Resava[l] to make his little sloop, they say, fifteen thousand pesos and more than four years of time, while the little launch which Captain Martin de Serastigui purchased cost only two thousand pesos. I can arrange it

[153] The contents of this chapter are omitted by Ortega.

so that this year your Reverence may have a vessel by raising that amount, and with that, we shall await only the good season for ascending to that latitude of the Seris and of the Pimeria, for in the rainy season it can not enter even though it be a large vessel, for the mariners say that as the seas are unknown it is necessary that the seaman be ready for any contingency.

Your Reverence will see by this letter of General Andres de Resaval, his plan to cross over here with his bark in search of pearls to trade, as we have always desired. And your Reverence, besides the fish, will have the salt in the Bay of La Consepcion, without going down to the Island of El Carmen. Likewise the mariners will cost, for they are very expensive, and now we are as much lacking in them as in vessels. Part are Chinese and part Californian, three Chinese and four Californians, even Indians of Xalxocotan, and a son of Basil the Pima. Since there are three diving vessels, all are looking for them, and they are not all capable of directing building. The cost to us of repairing only one launch in Acapulco was more than a thousand and four hundred pesos, after the China ship had given to us her launch, only to repair, because it will amount to building, although it be only a launch. Consider it, your Reverences, and advise me; thereupon the launch will be arranged for, and perhaps there will be people who will deliver it at Guaimas. One cable alone usually cost forty pesos, and there will be two.[154] It was cheaper for us to buy a Peruvian vessel at Acapulco than to repair the one which we had, and so it went to the bottom.

Perhaps with a vessel we shall see accomplished what has not been possible by land. If these two here had not been in use, for one went to New Spain, I should have made it a point to ascend as far as thirty degrees, following an itinerary of Ortega.[155] In the months from November to March the northwest winds are so strong that no bark can ascend even though it be Galician. It can be done only in the beginning of April and May, when also the currents set inward; so that the launch being there for the crossing, it at all times only remains to go and return. This is my opinion, but your Reverence, being more experienced, will decide what may be according to your pleasure

[154] The manuscript is corrupt at this point and the translation uncertain.

[155] The reference is to the Ortega who attempted settlements in California in the seventeenth century.

and for the greater service of God. May he guard me your Reverence, to whose holy sacrifices I commend myself; and if it were allowed there, and your Reverence could give us a little look over here, you could arrange what you might consider best and would see what there is here in this California, which was the first theatre of your Reverence's apostolic labors. I beseech you to salute for me my Father Geronimo Minutuli. I expect soon the reply in regard to the buying of the launch, which is called *San Pedro de Alcantara.*

Thus far Father Rector Juan de Ugarte, whom I answered what I shall say in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI. REPLY TO THIS CALIFORNIAN LETTER SAYING THAT HERE IN THIS PIMERIA WE HAVE ALREADY A SUPPLY OF WHAT IS NECESSARY FOR THE LITTLE VESSEL, OR LAUNCH, FOR THIS SHORT PASSAGE AT THIRTY-ONE DEGREES LATITUDE, AND THAT WE LACK ONLY THE NECESSARY FATHER MISSIONARIES AND A PAIR OF SHIP-BOYS OR CHINESE [156]

Many persons were of the opinion that at this latitude of thirty-one degrees also we should undertake immediately the conquest and conversion of California, since it occupies a middle position between the missions which are already so gloriously in operation in California Baxa, at twenty-six and twenty-seven degrees, and the new conversions which, God willing, if father missionaries come, can be established in the land passage to California and in its neighborhood, in California Alta, at thirty-five and thirty-six and thirty-seven degrees of latitude. Therefore, inasmuch as I agree with the above very prudent holy Californian letter of Father Rector Juan de Ugarte, I answered and I answer as follows:

[156] The contents of this chapter are omitted by Ortega.

In regard to securing a small but adequate vessel for this very short crossing, of eight or nine or ten leagues of quiet and sheltered sea of this Californian Gulf, by the favor of Heaven we shall not have great difficulty, for I have here on hand in this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores the greater part of the timbers prepared for a little bark, already squared, which we shall be able, with some good pack-mules, easily to carry to the shore of this gulf, together with the other planks which I have at Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion del Cavorca, already very near the sea. I have been preparing these timbers since the time of the visit of Father Visitor Manuel Gonzales, who, with our Father General Thirso Gonzales and with Father Provincial Diego de Almonacir, was a great lover of these new conversions.[157] And his Reverence having conferred in regard to passing over to the neighboring California also at this latitude of thirty-two degrees, for we have it plainly in view, they immediately gave me at Oposura the silver necessary to buy, and I immediately bought, at the Real de San Juan, sufficient coarse canvas for the sail of the little bark, although, since afterwards our Lord was pleased that we should discover a land passage to California, I suspended the building of the little bark. But there are here the supplies of this sail, and of the timbers which they call ribs, futtocks, and top-timbers, in one piece to save part of the nails; the rudder and the oars and their sort, of ash, and the necessary thread of Hoqui for a hank and for the tackle, with sufficient hemp, and a forge for the nails, and what is needed for the rigging, and much pine from which to obtain the necessary pitch, and fat cows for the tallow, and very rich and fertile champaigns, for the provisions, with which, thanks be to the Lord, we are accustomed to have our larders full every year. Also, in order to be able with all love to aid therewith the well beloved California, which is *Tenerrima soror nostra*,[158] we eat nothing except we divide with her, *Soror enim nostra parvula, et ubera non habet*.[159] They still lack the very fertile, rich fields in California. But your Reverence is coming and will discover them. Blessed sisters are Marta and Magdalena. Over here, content with the

[157] The visit of Gonzalez was made in 1689. See volume i, 115.

[158] "Our most tender sister."

[159] "For our sister is little, and hath no breasts" (*Cant. of Cant.*, viii, 8).

ministry of Martha, we shall happily serve the fathers who over there in happiness enjoy the blessed lot of Magdalena. And so far as it is possible for us we shall procure fathers by many different ways, by that land passage at thirty-five degrees, and by this short sea passage at thirty-one degrees latitude, not forgetting what in so many ways we owe the Redeemer of the World, who has bought us as he has redeemed so many poor creatures, and who says to us: *Illis solvite* [*quae*] *mihi debetis*,[160] and we shall pay it if we aid our needy neighbors. In this way we shall set fire to the plain of California in different places with fresh memories of the admirable post communion which our Holy Mother Church gives in her mass to our Holy Father Ygnacio: *Ignem veni mittere in terris et quid volo nisi ut acendatur?* [161]

In regard to the vessel for this short passage and crossing, the difficulty is exaggerated also when we know that there is still in existence, grounded on this our coast of these Pimas and of these Seris, very near to the same latitude above-mentioned of thirty-one degrees, the great canoe in which Juan de Errera, one of the sailors of the Admiral Don Ysidro de Atondo y Antillon, with two companions, set out from the port of Masatlan in search and pursuit of those of us who were in the Real de San Bruno of California, and having passed us by without seeing us and searching for us in a higher latitude without finding us, came with his canoe from California to this new Spain and to these coasts of the Seris and Pimas, where he left it grounded, and passed on to Mexico to report everything to different persons, and to me in the house of the Casa Profesa.[162]

Thus the principal and only difficulty consists in the lack of missionary fathers, one or two to come to live in and administer the new missions and pueblos which we have prepared for them, and one who in my absence, ministrations, ceremonies, and peregrinations, might help me to take care of these three pueblos of my administration, and others for other new missions which we have in hand. For, these father laborers so necessary being

[160] "Pay to them what you owe to me."

[161] "I have come to cast fire on the earth and what will I but that it be kindled" (*Luke*, xii, 49).

[162] This was at the time of the abandonment of California by Atondo, after which Kino went to Mexico.

here for these missions, soon, God willing, with all ease we shall be able to go to the short passage at thirty-one degrees of latitude and to the new conquests and new conversion of its environs and to the succor and conversion of the already established missions of California, and to many others of all this North America. A pair of ship-boys, or Chinese, for the direction of the little bark, or launch, or large canoe for this very short crossing, are to be found in Cinaloa and in its neighborhood, for at least some are accustomed to come out of California, etc. May Our Lord guard me your Reverence, as I desire, for very happy years. I commend myself to your holy sacrifices, and send my tenderest greetings to my best beloved fathers of California. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, November 4, 1706, your Reverence's humble servant in Christ,

EUSEVIO KINO.

BOOK V. NEW MISSION, OR JOURNEY, TO THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA,[168] WITH FRAY MANUEL DE LA OYUELA, OF THE SACRED ORDER OF THE SERAPHIC SAN FRANCISCO, AND BY ORDER OF GENERAL JASINTO DE FUEN ZALDAÑA, MILITARY COMMANDER AND CAPTAIN FOR LIFE FOR HIS MAJESTY OF THE FLYING COMPANY, OR PRESIDIO, OF THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA, WITH ITS ALFÉREZ JUAN MATHEO RAMIRES, AND ITS COMMANDER JUAN DURAN, 1706

CHAPTER I. LETTER WHICH GENERAL DON JACINTO DE FUENZALDAÑA WRITES ME IN REGARD TO HIS HAPPY RETURN FROM MEXICO TO THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA AND TO HIS FLYING COMPANY OR PRESIDIO OF THIS PROVINCE

We have always found that General Jacinto de Fuensaldaña was very Christianly well-disposed to these new conversions and new conquests and to this Pimeria, and in his campaigns against the hostile Hocomes and Apaches he availed himself with pleasure and with satisfaction of these Pima natives and of their captains and governors. And they in turn had for him very friendly, very favorable, and, as it were, filial regard. And although the very troublesome lawsuits with which the common enemy is accustomed to try to prevent all good things furnished the reason why said

[168] This journey is summarized by Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 323-326).

General Don Jacinto went personally to the court of Mexico for the settlement of the affairs of this presidio, on his return from the above mentioned city his Grace wrote me while on the way from the neighboring presidio of Xanos on the twenty-sixth of June the following letter:

> MY BELOVED FATHER: It is now time to give some comfort to my friends, and I call to your Reverence's notice my arrival at this presidio of Xanos, on the road to mine, restored with all my men, and with my salary paid for the whole time that I was despoiled of it, all the charges which General Retana made against me having been nullified. Your Reverence knows my affection, and moved by it I spoke at length to my beloved Father Provincial Juan Maria in regard to your Reverence and our Pimeria, and he told me that now the opposition of the disaffected was being very well adjusted and quieted. Thereupon I told him that your Reverence had always been a great example of virtue and religion and apostolic zeal. I say no more, but wait until I see you, meanwhile asking God to spare me your Reverence for happy years, etc.

Thus far General Jasinto de Fuenzaldaña. Afterwards I went to the frontiers to see his Grace and speak of the advancement of these new conversions; and I drew from his store three thousand, three hundred *pesos* in clothing for the supply of these my new missions, in exchange for provisions, flour, maize, horses, mules, etc., with which these new conversions generally abound; all of which he gave me with very good will, without asking me for a single *peso* in silver, which they are accustomed to demand in the stores of other traders.[164] As we spoke principally of the promotion of these new conversions, and as I showed him a certificate which a few days ago the lieutenant of this Pimeria had given me in regard to its good state in the midst of the accus-

[164] This transaction illustrates the mercantile position of the commander of a frontier presidio.

tomed contradictions and of some opposition on the part of some ill-affected in regard to the land-passage to California, his Grace, considering as certain that which was very certain, that California was not an island, decided to furnish me some soldiers to go with me to be eye-witnesses and inform themselves of everything for the purpose of reporting juridically in Mexico, and to despatch a courier at his own expense, in order also to secure and bring the fathers so necessary for these new conversions. And as also by other means and even as an eye-witness he was convinced of the many very good things of this Pimeria, his Grace required of his alférez an exact daily account of everything, in order afterwards to authenticate it with a certificate of his own, and despatch it to Mexico.

CHAPTER II. AUTHENTICATED CERTIFICATE OF THE CAPTAIN DEPUTY ALCALDE MAYOR OF THE GOOD STATE OF THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, AND DECLARING THAT EVEN THE QUIQUIMAS OF THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA SENT A HOLY CROSS AND TO ASK HOLY BAPTISM

Although there have always been very favorable certificates by different alcalde mayors and by other royal officials of the good state of this Pimeria, and that the very friendly natives ask and deserve the missionary fathers necessary for its administration, I shall place here this more recent one which I took with me by chance among my papers when recently I went to see and to speak with General Don Jacinto de Fuen Saldaña. It is as follows:

SEPTEMBER 7, 1906. On the seventh of the month of September, 1706, in this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, in the presence of Captain Juan Dias de Theran, deputy alcalde mayor of the valley of Opodepe and its jurisdiction for

his Majesty, having come in company with some citizens of said jurisdiction for the purpose and aim of hearing mass on the day of Mary Most Holy, we found in this said pueblo Captain Francisco Pacheco, otherwise called Cola de Palo,[165] Governor of Cocospora, and Captain Anttonio Leal, otherwise called Captain Coro, captain-general of said Pima nation, who had come from the interior and had brought to Reverend Father Eusevio Francisco Kino messages and signs of friendship, crosses, and blue shells from the opposite coast of California, and other things used in those rancherías, in which they ask the friendship and protection of the Spaniards, and the comfort of their souls, asking with insistence holy baptism and missionary fathers to minister to them; and at present there is in this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores a captain of San Marcelo, ninety leagues distant, who came with his children and wife asking the same as the others asked, a father to minister to him, etc. And being personally present at all the above mentioned, at the request of the said Reverend Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, I certify and declare in testimony of having seen and spoken through an interpreter to the said captains and governors of said nations. And they likewise said that the Yuma and Quiquima nations to the northwest are also calling the Father Eusevio Francisco Kino with the same purpose of being Christianized. In testimony thereof I have certified it and authenticated it as a judge actuary, and with the witnesses who were present. Done in said day and year, and executed on common paper because there is no stamped paper, which is supplied by the ordinary justice of this province.

JUAN DIAS DE THERAN.

[Witnesses:] JUAN DE LA RIVA Y ZALAZAR
ANTTONIO DE LA VEGA CAMACHO
DIEGO MUÑOS
FRANCISCO DE CASTRO

[165] Literally, "brush tail."

CHAPTER III. DIARY OF THE JOURNEY TO THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA, FROM OCTOBER 13 TO NOVEMBER 16, 1706; DEPARTURE FROM THE PRESIDIO OF SANTA ROSA DE CORODEGUACHI,[166] AND ARRIVAL AT THE PUEBLO OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES

Inasmuch as General Don Jacinto de Fuenzaldaña, by word as well as in writing, gave wise orders and very Christian instructions to his alférez, Juan Matheo Ramires, for this journey, requiring of him among other things an exact daily account of everything, signed by the Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, and by Fray Manuel de la Oyuela, of the Order of San Francisco, who also came to this journey, and by his companion, the commander Juan Anttonio Duran, and authenticated by his hand, that it might go to Mexico and even to His Royal Majesty, God save him, I shall give here the account of this journey as it is given in the diary of the said Alférez Juan Matheo Ramires, and the letter which he writes to his lord and captain of the presidio, Don Jacinto de Fuen Saldaña, which is as follows:

"My Señor General Don Jacinto de Fuen Zaldaña: Obeying your orders that I should accompany Father Eusevio Francisco Kino in his journey, I have to report that, having set out from the presidio on the thirteenth of October, we arrived at Quiquiarachi,[167] where until very late at night said Father Eusevio Francisco Kino and the father of the district, Bacilio Javier de Molina, talked at length of the great good which could be done with ease, in the service of both Majesties, in the vicinity of these frontiers, as well as in other more remote parts of these new conversions.

[166] Santa Rosa de Corodeguachi (Fronteras) is on the Nacozari railroad about thirty-five miles south of Douglas, Arizona.

[167] Cuquiárichi (Quiquiarachi) is about ten miles southwest of Fronteras.

"On the fourteenth we arrived, after a fourteen leagues' journey, at the pueblo of Bacoachi,[168] whence I sent the two companions as your Grace ordered.

"15. On the fifteenth, after a ten leagues' journey we arrived at the Real de Bacanuche.

"16. On the sixteenth, after a twenty leagues' journey, we arrived at nightfall at the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where we were welcomed by the domestics of Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, as well as by the many outsiders who had come from the interior with a holy cross and with other good gifts of blue shells from the opposite coast, with a holy cross which the people of the Quiquima nation sent, when sending for Father Kino to go to baptize their little ones, at least. In the company of those who brought these messages came other natives of the coast, who brought not only many *tamales* of dried *pitajayas* but also some little boxes[169] of fresh *pitajayas*, which are produced on this coast in great abundance in October, in November, and even in December, whereas in other parts they are produced in June and July.

"17. On the seventeenth Father Kino answered the many letters which he found here, and we provided ourselves with what was necessary for our journey, with biscuit, with pack-animals, etc.

"18. On the eighteenth the father sent forward to the governor of San Marcelo a despatch to notify his relatives, as well as the rest in the vicinity of the land passage to California, that we, two fathers and two soldiers, were making an expedition past there.

"19. On the nineteenth we saw a great number of little crosses and blue shells, curious balls, and other

[168] Bacoachi is on the Río de Sonora about twenty-five miles north of Arizpe.

[169] *Cacaste*, a box or crate.

gifts, which on various preceding occasions the Quiquimas of California Alta and the other nations of the land passage had sent Father Kino, sending always to call him to go to baptize them.

"20. On the twentieth, while we were equipping ourselves here for the journey to the northwest, Father Kino despatched messages and gifts to the Sobaipuris of the north and of the northeast by the captain of this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

"21. On the twenty-first, in the afternoon we set out from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores for Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, to provide some sumpters and other things for our journey to the passage by land to California."

CHAPTER IV. MISSION OR EXPEDITION TO THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA, FROM OCTOBER 22 TO NOVEMBER 16, 1706, TAKEN FROM THE DIARY OF ALFÉREZ JUAN MATHEO RAMIRES, WHO WENT ON THE EXPEDITION

"OCT. 22, 1706. On October 22 Father Eusevio Francisco Kino came from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and with his Reverence Fray Manuel de la Oyuela, of the Sacred Order of the Seraphic San Francisco, who was asking alms for the founding of the novitiate of Guadalaxara. When Father Kino set out this morning for Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, he met with his Reverence after the first quarter league's journey, and, returning to the pueblo to give him chocolate, both fathers arrived at noon at this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. Fray Manuel having decided to enter to ask alms of the other Pima fathers, he was pleased to accompany us on the expedition and to view the land passage to California.

"23. This being agreed upon, on October twenty-third we went all together to the pueblo of Santiago de Cocospora, where, as also in Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, we saw the two very good churches, many cattle, sheep, and goats and the store rooms very well supplied with wheat and maize, all for the very good succor of the other new missions which in their time might be founded.

"24-25. On the twenty-fourth we passed the ranch of San Simon y Judas del Siboda, which Father Kino had founded for the aid of new missions. After about fifteen leagues' journey, passing by the good field of Bavasaqui,[170] we arrived at nightfall on the twenty-fifth. We found that the cowboys whom Father Kino had sent forward from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores had provided four dried beeves for the journey and for the building of the church of El Tubutama, and forty pack-animals, horses, and mules, for our journey, which we took for our expedition, with the twenty-five sumpters, which we had brought from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. There were provided also twenty-five other beeves, which were taken to San Ambrosio de Busanic, in place of as many other very tame ones which had been taken from there and had been driven to San Marzelo, by which we had to pass.

"26. On the twenty-sixth we set out for Santa Barbara del Sonoydag, which is a little ranchería with very good land, where they had wheat and maize ready for harvest for the Church, and where the natives received us with all kindness; and we continued, to sleep two leagues farther on, travelling today about fourteen leagues.

"27. On the twenty-seventh, arising early, we went

[170] Westward from Cocóspera.

to say and to hear mass at San Ambrosio del Busanic, travelling four leagues. All the justices of this new pueblo came out to welcome and to meet us with their captain called Don Marcos, whom Father Visitor Oracio Police a few years before had baptized in his church of Santa Maria de Baceraca, on the occasion when twenty-five governors, captains, and justices of this Pimeria had gone thither to ask for the necessary fathers and for holy baptism, some of them travelling more than one hundred and fifty leagues. In this pueblo or incipient mission, to which belong two other very good posts, Santa Gertrudes del Saric and San Bernardo de Aquimuri, we found a house in which to live and a little church with its altar in which to say mass, and a large church begun. We found wheat, maize, and beans, cattle, sheep and goats, more than two hundred head, and droves of mares, all of which the natives are tending very well for the father whom they ask and hope to receive. Here and in all places we gave good instruction, Christian and secular, as your Grace commanded me, and it was very well received. Four infants were baptized and a confession of the sick wife of Captain Don Marcos was heard. We killed a very fat sheep, despatched twenty-five beeves directly to San Marzelo, and set out for Santa Gertrudes del Saric, three leagues' journey, in the course of which they gave us an infant to baptize, who was named Juan Matheo Ramires, for he was my godson.[171]

"28. On the twenty-eighth, having baptized five infants, and having seen the good field of wheat which they had just sown for the Church, we set out for El Tubutama, where we arrived at midday and were received by Father Geronimo Minutuli with all kindness.

[171] *Aijado.*

We encouraged the people in the work of building a church, many adobes were made, and the governor and *guasinques* of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores worked on the timbers and arches of the sanctuary. At the same time we supplied ourselves for our journey, on which Father Geronimo Minutuli also desired to accompany us, but his many occupations, the building, the sowing of wheat, the branding, and the fact that he had some sick people, prevented him. But his Reverence with great generosity and love supplied us with wine for masses, with wax candles, chocolate, bread and biscuit, *pinole*, mutton, and beef, and even with his own saddle-mule."

CHAPTER V. OUR DEPARTURE FROM SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO DEL TUBUTAMA AND ARRIVAL AT SAN MARCELO DEL SONOIDAG

"October 29. On October twenty-ninth, after despatching in the morning our baggage, the relay, and more than forty sumpters, we set out at midday from El Tubutama, and arrived at San Attonio del Uquitoa, the third pueblo of Father Geronimo, having passed by his second pueblo, which is that of Santa Thereza de Cavorica.[171a]

"30. On the thirtieth we arrived, after a thirteen leagues' journey, at Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion del Cavorca, having passed by San Diego del Pitquin, where they were making adobes to finish their little church until there should be an opportunity to make a large one. At La Consepcion we found many people; and a pueblo of more than two thousand souls can be established here, on account of the very good lands and the many people in this vicinity. There are already made a decent house with a capacious hall and store-

[171a] Commonly called Adid, or Atil.

room, a bakery with an oven, a kitchen, a little church with an altar, and a large church begun, in imitation of but larger than that of Matape. Here are cattle, sheep, and goats, and two droves of mares, with which we counted more than twenty colts, horses, and mules. There are wheat, maize, and beans, all of which these natives are tending very well for the father whom they with such insistency ask for and hope to receive.

"31. On the thirty-first, after good discourses and baptism of infants, and after a sixteen leagues' journey over level road along the coast, the captain and the fiscal mayor of Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion accompanying us, we arrived at sunset at the great ranchería of San Eduardo del Baipia, where the very friendly natives had provided for us a little house of poles and straw in which to say mass with decency, with an altar, and with crosses and arches placed along the roads; and with all punctiliousness they took care of us and pastured our horses. On November first we set out for San Luys Bertrando del Bacapa, and after a twenty leagues' journey we arrived at Vespers, the natives here having also provided for us a little house, or hermitage, in which to say mass, etc. Fray Marcos de Niza, as Torquemada asserts, reached this post of Bacapa.[172]

"2. On the second, after a fourteen leagues' journey, we reached San Marcelo, arriving by this road from El Tubutama and from La Consepcion about four in the afternoon. At the very same time the cowboys were coming with the cattle which we had despatched the preceding week by a different and more direct road, from San Ambrosio del Busanic. More than seventy Indians also came at the same time with their justices,

[172] Consult Torquemada, *Tercera Parte de los veinte i un Libros Rituales i Monarchia Indiana*, 358-359.

governors, and captains, from different rancherías by which our cowboys had passed. The natives of San Marzelo welcomed us with roads cleared, with crosses and arches placed thereon for the space of more than a league, and with all kindness. We found here the captain and the governor of the Yumas and the governor of the Cocomaricopas, who, being informed that we were coming, came more than seventy leagues to see us, the former from the Rio Colorado, to the northwest, and the latter from the Rio de Hila, to the north. There came also, with our vaqueros, the captain of San Ambrosio, Don Marcos, who, together with the captain of Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion, aided with great kindness and Christian zeal in giving Catholic instruction to the rest of the numerous natives who from all directions all that afternoon and night and all the next day kept coming to hear the Word of God and to see us. And since the Quiquimas of the Passage and from California had not yet arrived or been notified, we sent to get them a Pima governor of this partly formed pueblo of San Marcelo, where there was already a little church, with its very neat altar, white-washed and painted, and where they tended for Father Kino his forty head of cattle, and wheat, maize, beans, etc., for the Father whom these very affable and friendly natives were awaiting."

"3. On the third, after mass and the talks on Christian doctrine by Father Kino, and also by me as your Grace ordered me, a beef and a sheep were killed, and all the people went to sow a good field of wheat for the Church. In the afternoon many more people came from different near-by and remote rancherías, and there was discussion among the natives themselves, some encouraging others to be good Christians, etc."

CHAPTER VI. DEPARTURE FROM SAN MARCELO AND ARRIVAL AT THE VERY HIGH PEAK OF SANTA CLARA, AND IN VERY PLAIN VIEW OF THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA, AND ARRIVAL ON OUR RETURN AT NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES

"NOVEMBER 4, 1706. On November[172a] fourth, after having said mass and despatched the many people very contended and comforted by the promise that efforts would be made to obtain for them the missionary fathers necessary, at midday we set out from San Marzelo for the good stopping place which they call El Carrizal, which is seven leagues distant.

"5. On the fifth we set out at dawn, and Father Kino went four leagues forward to say mass at a very good water-hole. We breakfasted, drank chocolate, and mounted on horseback, and, travelling ten leagues farther, arrived at a tank[172b] with water held in between the rocks of a very high peak which they called Serro de Santa Clara. There we ate and left the relay horses and some boys. Selecting the best mules, we ascended this very high peak, which was four leagues more in ascent. On this peak three others are piled up. We ascended the one which slopes to the south, whence was seen the sea, which was exactly to the south of us. As far as the eye could reach there was no sea ascending toward the north or the northwest, either to the eastward, from which we came, or to the westward; and we saw very plainly the connection of this our land with that of the west, which consisted of sandy beaches and little hills; and we slept on the summit of this hill, commanding a view of land for more than forty and fifty and sixty leagues distant.

"6. On the sixth, day of San Bruno, patron of Cali-

[172a] By a slip the manuscript is made to read "October 4."

[172b] Evidently Tinajas de Emilia. See Lumholtz, *op. cit.*, 204.

fornia, as soon as day dawned Fray Manuel de la Oyuela went down this little southern ridge and ascended the other, which was the highest of all; and we kept it between north and west, as in plain view we saw clearly again, with even more detail, what we had seen the afternoon before, and that with this continuity of both lands there is a passage by land to California. And we saw that the Sierra Madre of California runs from south to north to where the sea ends, and that a point shuts in a bay which Fray Manuel calls the estuary, because it is the mouth of the Rio Colorado, at the head of the Sea of California. From there the said Sierra Madre of California turns off from a north course and runs northwest, which is between north and west. Between south and west we sighted more than fifty leagues of continuous land in California, with its Sierra Madre. Between south and east we saw the very great bay, which probably is about ten leagues long, and has a solitary hill to the eastward, and which we named Bay of San Manuel, because Fray Manuel from the higher peak which he had ascended saw it more distinctly.

Satisfied that the sea ascended no farther to the northward than to the latitude of thirty-five degrees in which we found ourselves, we descended to where the mules were, unsaddled. We saddled them while Fray Manuel came down the other hill, and together we descended the four leagues to the tank where we had left the boys with the relay and with the commander Juan Anttonio Duran, who, being ill, had not been able to ascend the hill with us. There the father said mass in thanksgiving for the so plainly discovered certainty of the passage. We breakfasted, and after a fourteen leagues' journey we arrived at El Carrizal.

"7. On the seventh, Sunday, we arose early, and came

in time to say and hear mass to San Marzelo, where some Indians who had come to see us were awaiting us, among them being the captain of the Cocomaricopas of the Rio Grande or Rio de Yla, who had come from above from the famous and great ranchería of San Matias del Tumagacori [Tutumagoydag].

"8. On the eighth we set out from San Marzelo del Sonoydag for Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, accompanied by the captain of the Yumas, who had come from the Rio Colorado more than sixty leagues with many other justices and many other natives of these environs. On setting out they gave us three infants to baptize. After travelling ten leagues by a different road from that by which we had come, we arrived at San Raphael del Actum, where they gave us ten other little ones to baptize; and we passed on four leagues to sleep at the water hole of San Martin.

"9. On the ninth, after going nine leagues we arrived at the rancherías of Santa Biviana. Here we found that with rare loyalty they had taken care of and dried for us two of the beeves which had been left them by the cowboys, who, passing by here, took the twenty-five from San Ambrocio del Saric to San Marzelo, and we marveled at such fidelity. We divided among them the meat and hides, and, having spoken to them the word of God, they agreed that all wished to be Christians, and gave us eight infants to baptize, promising us that they would assemble wherever there should be a father. They gave us many of their viands, *pinole* of maize, beans, pumpkins, and mesquite; and we passed on to another ranchería about five leagues farther on.

"10. On the tenth, upon our departure from this place, the governor brought us to be baptized a little girl, suffering and dying, and who without doubt would

go very shortly to be happy in God. And after a twelve leagues' journey we arrived at San Estanislao del Ootcam, where we found a little church, or chapel, of adobe.

"11-13. There on the eleventh the governor and other justices gave us nine infants to baptize, and at midday, after an eight leagues' journey we arrived at San Ambrocio del Busanic. We killed a fat beef and a sheep, and wrote to the fathers of El Tubutama and San Ygnacio. They gave us some infants to baptize; we arrived at Tubutama; on the thirteenth we rested and built.

"14. On the fourteenth we arrived at Santa Maria Magdalena, where Father Agustin de Campos treated us with kindness, as did Father Geronimo Minutuli at El Tubutama.

"15. On the fifteenth Father Kino gave orders that some timbers should be made for the building of the sanctuary of the new church; and in the afternoon we set out, to spend the night at San Joseph de Himires, third pueblo of the administration of Father Agustin.

"16. On the sixteenth we arrived at midday at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, and in the afternoon at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Having baptized more than fifty infants, we have seen, besides the land passage to California, beyond the pueblo of El Tubutama, more than 200[0] Indians, men and women, in round numbers. Most of the land is good and fertile, with irrigation ditches for making large and good pueblos with sufficient water, by gathering together the people that are in various rancherías. And because it is the truth we have signed it, Father Eusevio Francisco Kino and Fray Manuel Oyuela and I, Alférez Juan Matheo Ramires, and the squadron commander

Juan Anttonio Duran, at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, November 18, 1706."

Thus far Alférez Juan Matheo Ramires. And just when this diary was to pass to General Don Jacinto de Fuenzaldaña, in order that, Christianly authorized by his hand, it should pass, for the good of many souls, with papers of his to Mexico and even to Spain, we found to our great sorrow that God our Lord had just taken him to himself.

CHAPTER VII. SEPARATE CERTIFICATION BY FRAY MANUEL DE LA OYUELA, OF THE SACRED ORDER OF THE SERAPHIC SAN FRANCISCO, OF HAVING SEEN THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA. IT IS AS FOLLOWS

"I, Fray Manuel de Oyuela, religious of the Order of Our Father San Francisco, of the province of Guadalaxara, declare that, having set out from the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on October 22, 1706, in company with Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, missionary in said mission, Alférez Juan Matheo Ramires, and Squadron Commander Juan Anttonio Duran, sent by his captain in company with said Father to see, explore, and examine the extremity and head of the Sea of California, to make the due report for whatever may in future be expedient; and, after having travelled long days' journeys, as of fourteen, sixteen, and twenty leagues, and having seen incipient pueblos, and in them churches begun, some one *estado*[178] high and others more or less, and having seen many and very good lands, and all with irrigation, an abundance of water, and a variety of irrigation ditches, I hereby certify that I have never seen so many before with their fields of maize and wheat, whereby one recognizes that the

[178] An *estado* is a unit of measurement the height of a man.

natives are very industrious and laborious in comparison with other nations. And in all parts they generally welcomed us with all appreciation and reverence, giving us of their provisions.

"We were in Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion del Cavorca, where Father Francisco Xavier Saeta happily gave his life, paying the penalty for the sins of others in imitation of our great Master and Lord. There is a large part of the church made, a hall, a lodging and kitchen, and a bakery and oven. It is one of the best places that I have seen, because its plains are so large and so fertile, and carry the water to all parts by means of irrigation ditches which they have made for that purpose.

"Next come fifty leagues with little water, because it is along the sea coast, which we travelled in three days, or a little less, for we arrived at San Marcelo about four in the afternoon, where they received us with arches and crosses and roads very well cleared for more than a league. There is a chapel and a lodge. It is a very good place, with a perennial creek of water, a field of wheat, and a few cattle, sheep, and goats. Hither came many captains of various rancherías and of the Yuma and Opa and Cocomaricopa nations, who live on the Rio Grande and Rio Colorado, sixty and eighty leagues distant. The Indians from the outside who assembled here exceeded three hundred, most of them being without more clothing than that given them by nature.

"Here as in the other places Father Eusevio Francisco Kino made them a fervent discourse. So effective was it that two of the captains told him that since he had deprived them of so much good he ought to baptize them. The father replied that it was necessary first to

instruct them, and therefore some went to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to be catechised and instructed. We were there a day and a half, where I saw a thing very worthy of pondering over in a people so ignorant, namely, that after the father preached to them one of their captains continued warning them with such force and energy that it seems that the Lord must have given him words to enable him to speak so long, for he harangued them for a space of two hours, a thing difficult even for a great preacher. Afterward another took up the thread and continued in the other languages. In this manner day dawned upon them; and the following night it was the same.

"In the afternoon we set out to continue our way, and after having travelled twenty-five leagues we arrived at a very great mountain called Santa Clara. It is large, and at its extreme summit there are three others piled up. One slopes to the south, another to the east, and the third and largest one to the west, because they are in a triangle. The afternoon that we arrived we ascended the peak that sloped to the south, because it is the easiest to ascend, and from it we saw the Sea of California, its mountain chains, and the great sandy beach where the sea ends. We could not see with all detail because night soon fell upon us, and there we slept that night. The next morning, as soon as day dawned, I descended in all haste with a determination to ascend the highest peak, which is to the westward, in order to be able to see more from its summit. I did so at the cost of very great toil, because it was so high, and was a sort of rubbish-heap of *tlesontle* stone, as is all this very great hill, so that I seemed likely to end my life sooner than the undertaking. Our Lord was pleased that I should reach its summit, and from it I saw, looking from this

side and to the southwest, a great bay, which is probably about ten leagues from west to east, and at the east end of it a hill, extending from this bay to the northward, which is the way the sea turns to form a harbor, as it were, three or four leagues in a circuit, with a little ridge to the south and another to the north, twenty-five leagues from the bay; and in all this distance it forms a sandy beach of half a league wide.

"To the north and northwest of this coast there is, along the head of the Sea of California, a very great sandy beach of more than sixty leagues in compass or circuit, with some little hills;[174] and to the west of the above mentioned port the head of said bay, with another bay, makes a form like the extremity of the right foot of a man, the bay being where the great toe is, and being next to the mouth of the very large volumed Rio Colorado which enters into the sea to the eastward and makes a great *Ria*[175] (for so in our Castilian tongue they call the mouths of the rivers), which indeed is neither fresh water nor salt. So great is this estuary that very large ships can enter, even though they be the royal ships of Spain. It afterwards empties to the northwestward. The same Rio Colorado then forms a very large island more than forty leagues in circuit, all of very fertile lands and very thickly populated with Indians, which the Rio Colorado waters as the Nile bathes Egypt, giving it very great fertility. And looking to the east from said Serro de Santa Clara, at more than fifty leagues' distance one sees the range which they call El Gigante, and to the northward some very great plains, although with some occasional hills, the

[174] Compare the legend "Medanos de Arena" on the Kino map of 1705.
[175] Estuary.

view extending about sixty leagues to the northwest. Above rises the Sierra Madre of California, and I was able to see by that course about fifty or sixty leagues.

"To the westward, at the end of the sea or beginning of the above mentioned estuary, or mouth, of the Rio Colorado, the Sierra of California forms, as it were, a point which juts out toward the east, and which is at the distance of about fourteen or fifteen leagues from where I was; for I could estimate them by the sun which was reflected from the rocks. Coming down a little from the west to the south I was able to see more than fifty-eight or sixty leagues of California oversea, and that the California of the northwest has a sea to the eastward. Therefore California is not an island but only a peninsula, as long since very well and correctly has been said and written by Father Eusevio Francisco Kino who took us that we might be witnesses of this truth. From the foregoing I have seen that the heretic Drake is author of the lie whereby he will have it that this Sea of California ascends to the North Sea, wishing to discredit the ancient Spaniards who depicted California as *terra firma* with this land, as it really is; but he is well punished in this life and also in the next, dying here in Galicia[176] at the hand of a Spaniard, and paying there in Inferno forever for his evil deeds.

"Because of this malevolent heretic so many of us have toiled so much, and there are even some who, without more reason than their depraved mind, say that on one side the sea enters between the hills and joins the South Sea, the reasoning more of a depraved will than of a sincere understanding, as if the sea were some changeling which can betake itself to hide where it

[176] Father Oyuela was manifestly not well-informed regarding Drake's earthly career.

will; but we know that even the above mentioned heretic, in order to make California an island, depicts its sea as a continuous strip running to the northwest, without making any turn in any direction; but if such a sea did flow into the South Sea, those who with care have mapped the opposite coast of California would tell of it. And always, as Father Kino says, California Alta will remain *terra firma* with this land, for there is no printed map which says a thing like this.

"The next day, which was November 6, we descended from the two piled-up hills. Saddling our mules, we descended to the tank where the preceding day we had left our boys and the relays. The father said mass, we ate, and mounted our horses. Turning back to San Marsselo, we arrived the next day, Sunday, to say mass; and the next day we set out, returning by a different route past some rancherías, which gave us some infants to baptize. And in this journey there were more than fifty baptisms of infants and of dying persons, etc. This is the truth concerning everything which I have seen, and concerning which I shall be able to swear and will swear whenever there may be necessity therefor, once and a thousand times. And since it is the truth, I sign it at this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Nov. 29, 1706.

"FRAY MANUEL DE LA OYUELA Y VELARDE."

CHAPTER VIII. LETTER OF FATHER RECTOR MELCHOR BARTIROMO IN REGARD TO THE GREAT PLEASURE WHICH HIS REVERENCE AND OTHER PERSONS HAVE HAD IN THESE ABOVE RELATED MISSIONS, OR JOURNEYS, TO THE LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA

As soon as our Fray Manuel de la Oyuela and Alférez Juan Mateo Ramires and I reported our journey to the father rector of this mission, his Reverence on December 10 wrote me the following:

> With infinite pleasure to myself I am this afternoon in receipt of your Reverence's letter of the fourth instant, and I can not write this except in little pieces, because the abundance of tears for joy at the good news of the conversion of so many souls impedes me at times. And so I can say that it is written more with tears than with ink, yet not with tears of pain, but of joy, for our Lady of Sorrows wished the sorrows for herself and the comfort and pleasure for her children, who are indebted also for the beginnings of the salvation of so many nations. God reward your Reverence for it, whom with holy envy from here I imagine very comforted and very much pleased that our Lady permits your Reverence all those labors and the steps which you take and took for her holy glory and the good of her souls. *Dominus sit tibi merces magna nimis.*[177] Perhaps some day I too shall have the happiness of being myself in those countries, suffering that which I deserve, and laboring for the glory of the Lord, although my great sins render me unworthy even of these.

A few days afterward, on December seventeenth, his Reverence wrote me the following words:

> I have found a world map which shows California as *terra firma.* It was printed in Rome in the year 1602. The author is Arnodo di Alnoldi Tiamengo. Your Reverence shall see it over here, for I have put it together with new paper. I had it with my books in a chest.

Thus far the father rector of this mission, Melchor

[177] "The Lord be to thee a reward exceeding great" (see *Genesis,* xv, 1).

Bartiromo. Many other fathers and secular gentlemen have written other things somewhat similar. The father rector at Matape, Adamo Jil,[178] on December 30 adds the following:

> Father Castner,[179] who, like Father Vaname[180] has just written me from Great China, has arrived safely at Rome in the office of ambassador or procurator of that kingdom of Tartary. He is of your Reverence's province of Bavaria and of upper Germany. He is very much beloved of the Chinese and greatly beloved as a very zealous, apostolic, missionary laborer in the Island of Ssanchon.[181]

General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente on December 19 wrote me the following:

> I rejoice infinitely at the new journey which you have just made to the land passage to California with Alférez Juan Mateo Ramires, Commander Juan Anttonio Duran, and Fray Manuel de la Oyuela; and that your Reverence and all the foregoing persons went, came, and returned in safety, etc.

CHAPTER IX. OF THE FOUNDING OF A VILLA IN THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, WHICH IS CONSIDERED IN THE LATTER PART OF 1706 AND THE BEGINNING OF 1707

Many persons very zealous in the service of both Majesties were of the opinion at this time that [a villa should be founded] in these new conversions, for their advancement and at the same time for the total relief of this province of Sonora, which so many years has been so infested by the hostile Hocomes, Janos, and Apaches.[182] Father Anttonio Leal, who a few years before had been visitor of these missions of Sonora and formerly had been visitor of the missions of Ssinaloa,

[178] Adam Gilg.

[179] See volume i, 79, *footnote* 58.

[180] Van Hame. See volume i, 78, *footnote* 53.

[181] Sanchon, one of the Marianas Islands.

[182] There is apparently an omission in the Ms. here.

being informed of this plan to found a new villa in the vicinity of this province, wrote that if it were accomplished it would be even more advantageous than a presidio, and that although it had not been possible to effect it hitherto, it would be a most desirable thing and extremely advantageous, and that he had tried for and sought it for many years.[188]

Many other fathers and also many secular gentlemen, alcalde mayors and lieutenants, were of the same opinion; and there were many persons who offered to go personally at their own cost and expense to be colonists of the said villa, because the plan was to found it in lands very fertile and very suitable for every purpose. And many missionary fathers, as well as seculars, offered very substantial aid in cattle, provisions, clothing, silver, etc., for the colonists of the villa and for its foundation, and what different well-wishers offered to contribute already amounted to more than fifteen thousand *pesos*.

The actual father visitor, Franssisco Maria Picolo, on November 10 wrote me from San Joseph de Guaymas the following:

> The founding of the villa seems to me very well worth while, and, God giving me health and strength, I shall go, if the case requires, to raise the walls and to aid with my hands, for I love the Pimeria dearly.

General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente on October 6 wrote me the following letter from his hacienda of Santa Barbara:

> I have seen that your Reverence has received my letters, and that Father Rector Melchor Bartiromo approves my advice in the matter of the founding of a villa, which it is intended to establish among so many and so extensive nations. And I well believe that, because of its great importance for the relief of

[188] See *ante*, page 184, for Manje's opinion on this point.

so many millions[184] of souls as are in need of holy baptism, all the reverend missionary fathers of this province will take heart and rejoice, and that they will aid as much as they can and ought toward an undertaking of so great importance, and in which the two Majesties are so interested. And, God willing that the villa be founded, we may promise ourselves that the holy Gospel will be propagated through the many nations that are discovered and the very many more that will be discovered in future, for without doubt there will be another new world and a very happy Christendom, because of the natural good qualities manifested by those discovered, for they are already accustomed to sustain themselves by the sweat of their brows and to live in open country[185] and in the form of pueblos, in efforts to secure which most generally consist the toils and mortifications of the missionaries and new colonists, whereas in those children these arduous difficulties are found already conquered. If I had known that your Reverence was coming to Santa Maria de Basseraca so soon I should have gone in company with his Reverence, Father Oracio Polisse, who is more than full of experience and knowledge of Indians, to wait for you, in order to confer in regard to what might appear most expedient.

Your Reverence, with your accustomed Christian and apostolic zeal, has gained the good will of all the principal men of those extensive nations; and well I believe that Captains Coro and Pacheco, many others of the interior, and the Ssobaipuris, will help us to penetrate to the Quiquimas, who are on the land passage to California. And I rejoice more than anyone else that at the Feast of our Lady of September[185a] which your Reverence celebrated, so great a number of Christians and heathen were present; for it was proposed to me and was very proper that the deputy alcalde mayor and royal justice of that jurisdiction should certify what number were coming, and were present, and what messengers and messages came from remote parts with good words, whereby it is recognized that they de-

[184] *Millón* is used to express an indefinitely large number.

[185] As opposed to dwelling in the mountains, as was the case with the Apaches.

[185a] Feast of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, September 8.

sire that the holy Gospel should enter into their lands. May the Divine Majesty grant that we may succeed in seeing them reduced to the royal obedience and to the bosom of our Holy Faith, which is what I most desire, etc. And as his Royal Majesty aids an enterprise of such consequence with something, I shall on my part, immediately sacrifice my life and my estate in this his royal service, etc.

Thus far General Juan Fernandes de la Fuente, who with this and many other Christian letters manifests clearly how great he is, and how Catholic is his zeal for the service of both majesties, joined with such long experience as he has continually been acquiring in the service of his Royal Majesty, as is well known, he having served thirty years in his kingdom of New Galicia and in the fleets of Spain, without having asked any reward or post, and to all appearance attending only to the royal service and to the fulfillment of his duties in the extension of the royal dominions, by reducing and pacifying and granting those prayers of Taraumares and of other places, etc., for which our Lord will grant that his Royal Majesty, God save him, as well as our father superiors of our Holy Mother the Company, will be pleased to aid us when it is most expedient, particularly with the many and very necessary apostolic missionary fathers whom we need, since we have already discovered for them a wealth of souls and since those which are being discovered are so numerous and so ripe, for they are so many that rightly and well says the above mentioned Governor Juan Fernandes de la Fuente (very deserving of the government of this kingdom of New Navarre, if such should be the pleasure of his Royal Majesty, God save him) that in these new conquests a new world will be found and a very happy new Christendom will be secured. It will be well that it be promoted, and since said Señor general in another letter

which I cited above, recognizes at the same time that much more is accomplished through pious and charitable works of apostolic missionaries than by many arquebuses, and that in this way at very moderate expense to the royal treasury the new conquests and new conversions can be perfected, since already they have advanced so far, we hope to obtain the boon that by the celestial favors of our Lord all this North America is to be very happily converted. May his Divine Majesty grant it. Amen.

PART V

OF THE CELESTIAL FAVORS OF Jesus and Mary Most Holy, and of the Most Glorious Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, Experienced in These New Conquests and New Conversions of These New Nations of This Unknown North America. Although in This Fifth Part the History of the Years 1707, 1708, and 1709 might be Continued, in its Place in this Last Part is put a Long Report of the Very Great Good which, with Immense Service to Both Majesties, even at Very Little Cost to the Royal Treasury, can be Obtained, and of the Many Temporal Means which Our Lord with His Celestial Favors gives us Lavishly in These Very Fertile New Lands.

PROLOGUE TO THE CHARITABLE READER

It is true that this treatise might continue, and my intention was in this fifth part to continue the history of the celestial favors experienced in these new conversions, and to relate what happened in the following years, 1707, 1708, and 1709. But as most of it reduces itself to the accustomed delays and grievous detentions of the missionary fathers and laborers so necessary for the harvest of souls, so extensive, so seasoned, and so very ripe, which hitherto in the preceding years has been noted, it has seemed to me more expedient to place in this fifth and last part the long report,[186] divided into four books and they into their chapters, which, by suggestion of my greater superiors and other important persons, zealous for the service of both Majesties, I have made in the course of recent months, the intention being to give a more complete account of what can contribute most to the total conquest and conversion of all this most extensive North America which hitherto has been considered as unknown. It will be sufficient for the time being to say here that in all these years, thanks to His Divine Majesty and to His celestial favors, all these very extensive new nations of more than six hundred leagues in circuit have maintained and now main-

[186] Part v was originally not written as a portion of the *Favores Celestiales*, but was incorporated in Kino's last days as a suitable conclusion. It is a report to the king, finished in 1710, the year before Kino's death, and consists of an extended argument in favor of the promotion of further conquests in California and other parts of the northern country, with a view to the establishment of a new kingdom to be called "New Navarre."

tain themselves in very quiet, pacific, friendly and good state.

DEDICATION[187] TO HIS SACRED, ROYAL MAJESTY, PHILIP V., GOD PRESERVE HIM MANY YEARS

Your royal Majesty has ordered in your very Catholic cédula of July 17, 1701, which my father provincial of this New Spain, as well as the father visitor of these missions of Sonora, sent me in printed form (in it being printed my name, though I do not deserve it, and the name of Father Juan María de Salvatierra), that report be made to your royal Majesty of the location and state of the heathen communities of this province of Sonora; therefore, with this report unknown North America places itself at the sacred feet of your royal Majesty, for by means of more than two hundred leagues of new conquests and new conversions, which have a compass or circumference of more than six hundred leagues and contain very fertile lands and new nations already very friendly, discovered in these last twenty-three years by the fathers of the Company of Jesus in more than fifty expeditions or missions to the northeast, northwest, and west, some of which have been of fifty, seventy, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and fifty, two hundred and more leagues, all these many nations now remain very well reduced. And they ask for fathers and holy baptism, and it would seem that they know very well what our Holy Mother, the Church, says to them on the first feast day in May, day of San Felipe and Santiago, namely *Gentiles Salvatorem*

[187] This Part V, excepting the title-page and the Prologue, was first printed in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, 433-464. That translation is here reproduced, with minor changes, and with the restoration of the chapter headings, which were there omitted. It is seen that this report may be regarded as a companion to that of Picolo made just eight years earlier, both being in response to the cédula of July 17, 1701.

videre cupientes ad Philipum accesserunt.[188] And if in those times there was an apostolic Philip to whom the Gentiles drew near, it is very notorious that today also we have (and we of this unknown North America know it) our very grand and Catholic monarch Philip to whom these innumerable Gentiles come.

May the sovereign Lord of the heavens preserve the life of your royal Majesty many happy years. Mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, February 2, 1710. The sacred feet of your royal Majesty are kissed by your humble chaplain, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO.

[188] "The Gentiles, desiring to see the Savior, came to Philip" (*Roman Breviary*, lesson IV, Feast of Sts. Philip and James, apostles).

Report and Relation of the New Conversions of This North America,[189] which Comprise more than Two Hundred Leagues of Fertile Country, and Extend to the Recently Discovered Land Passage [190] to California, which is not an Island but a Peninsula, and is Very Populous, and to the Very Large Rio Colorado, which is the True Rio del Norte of the Ancients; with New Maps of These Nations and of This North America, which hitherto has been Regarded as Unknown. Likewise, of the Very Great Advantage to Both Majesties which even at Small Cost to the Royal Treasury can be obtained by Sending Father Laborers in the Royal Service to These New Conversions, in which, in the Opinion of Prudent Persons, can be Formed a New Kingdom, which might be called Kingdom of New Navarre. By Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, of the Company of Jesus, Missionary for More than Twenty-five [191] Years in the Missions of California and These New Missions and Conversions of This Province of Sonora.

[189] That is, of this part of North America.

[190] He refers to his own discoveries between 1699 and 1706.

[191] He came to California in 1683, hence about twenty-seven years before writing this report.

BOOK I. OF THE MOTIVES FOR WRITING THIS REPORT AND RELATION

CHAPTER I. OF THE ROYAL *CÉDULA* OF PHILIP THE FIFTH

For days and years many persons have asked of me maps, reports, and accounts of these new conversions, and although on various occasions I have given reports, at present they are pressing me more urgently, some of them alleging first the royal *cédula* of his Majesty, God preserve him, of July 17, 1701, which orders that report be made to him of the state of California, (which has been very well done by the printed report of Father Francisco Maria Picolo) and of the "state and location of these heathen Indians of these provinces of Sonora."

CHAPTER II. OF THE LETTERS OF OUR FATHER GENERAL THYRZO GONZALES

In different letters our father-general, Thyrzo Gonzales, with other superiors, has asked of me reports of all edifying incidents that might happen, and of the celestial favors of our Lord which we might experience in these new conversions, since they are always a source of comfort to our people, in Europe especially, and of edification to those in foreign lands.

CHAPTER III. OPINION AND LETTER OF FRAY MANUEL DE LA OYUELA

Fray Manuel de la Oyuela, of the Sacred Order of the Seraphic Father San Francisco, having a little more than a year ago[192] come from his holy monastery of Gua-

[192] Since the incident referred to occurred in October-November, 1706,

dalaxara to these provinces of Sonora and to these new conversions, to ask alms, went with me on an expedition far enough to plainly sight the land route to California from the very high hill of Santa Clara, which is north of the head of the Sea of California, traversing in going and returning more than two hundred and fifty leagues of these fertile lands, among Indians so friendly, affable, and industrious that his Reverence said that in these new conquests and extensive new conversions a new kingdom could and should be founded. To this I replied that if this should come to pass I should rejoice if it were called New Navarre, in honor of the blessed land of the most glorious apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, my great patron, as other kingdoms are named New Viscaia, New Galicia, etc. Afterward, while on the way to Guadalaxara, within the last few months, his Reverence wrote me that if I did not make report of the ripeness of so great a harvest of souls an account of them would be required of me in the tribunal of God.

CHAPTER IV. LETTER OF THE FATHER RECTOR, JUAN DE HURTASSAN

Two months ago Father Juan de Hurtassan, rector of the College of Vera Crus, wrote me the following:

> My Father Eusevio Francisco Kino, from Spain persons to whom I can not excuse myself are writing me, asking for an exact account of the provinces which your Reverence has discovered, to what degree of latitude and longitude they extend, the disposition of the nations, what rivers and lands they comprise, especially those which slope to California from south to north, and whether California is an island or a peninsula, or which view is more probable; what reports there are of the kingdom of La Quivira, in what latitude it is found, how far

this report must have been begun in 1707 or 1708, though it was not finished till 1710. The expedition is described in this volume, pages 193-213.

it is to the land of Jesso,[193] in that region, whether any rivers run into the Sea of the North, or all empty in the Sea of California, and, in fine, everything touching this matter; for they write me that upon this question there is now much controversy in Madrid, with a variety of opinions. If everything can be shown on the map, so much the better. I have no doubt your Reverence will take this trouble; and, as I conjecture, perhaps it will contribute to the glory of God.[194]

CHAPTER V. LETTER OF THE FATHER PROVINCIAL JUAN DE ESTRADA

Some three weeks ago I received a very courteous and long letter from my father provincial of this New Spain, Juan de Estrada,[195] in which his Reverence, among other things, writes me the following:

In regard to your Reverence's coming to Mexico to print the map, you will be needed in that Pimería and new Christendom and catechumenical heathendom. We see that they print relations and maps of less consequence in France; and your Reverence may judge whether a map of more consequence and novelty, accompanied by some brief relation, with arguments and documents showing that the Californias are only peninsulas, will make the printers of France more eager to make the map and print the written relation. I have found out that the Father Rector, Juan de Hurtassum, asks your Reverence for those maps that they may be printed in France, whence they are asking for them and for reports of the new conversions and lands, to put it all into print.

Thus far the letter of my father provincial and the reasons for writing this brief report.

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[193] For note on Jesso see volume i, 360, *footnote*.

[194] This passage illustrates the lively interest taken in Kino's explorations.

[195] Estrada became acting provincial in Nov., 1707. See volume i, 92, *footnote*.

BOOK II. BEGINNINGS AND PROGRESS OF THE NEW CONQUESTS AND NEW CONVERSIONS OF THE HEATHENDOMS OF THIS EXTENSIVE PIMERIA AND THE OTHER NEIGHBORING NEW NATIONS

CHAPTER I. OF THE IMMENSE CATHOLIC AND LOYAL EXPENDITURES WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE FOR ALMOST TWO WHOLE CENTURIES IN THE VARIOUS NAVIGATIONS AND EXPEDITIONS TO THE CALIFORNIAS, WHEREFROM NOW, HOWEVER, ARE HAPPILY ORIGINATING THESE NEW CONQUESTS AND NEW CONVERSIONS OF THIS NORTH AMERICA

It is well known that during almost two whole centuries the royal Catholic crown of Spain has spent more than two millions and a half for new conquests and new conversions and for the extension of the Holy Evangel, and for the eternal salvation of the souls of the Californias; but it appears that, thanks to His Divine Majesty, the blessed time is now coming when not only the conquest and conversion of the Californias is being accomplished, but also at the same time that of these other neighboring extensive lands and nations of this North America, most of which has hitherto been unknown, and when the Lord is providing for the rather poor lands of the Californias the necessary aid of these very extensive and rich lands, abundant champaigns, and fertile rivers and valleys.

VARIOUS VOYAGES AND EXPEDITIONS TO THE CALIFORNIAS. The immense but very Catholic expenditures

above mentioned, which the sovereign Lord always most liberally repays, have been those for the various navigations and expeditions following:[196]

1533. In the year 1533 Don Fernando Cortes, eleven years after having conquered Mexico, discovered California and entered into the port of Nuestra Señora de la Paz.[197]

1535. In 1535 Don Anttonio Mendosa, first viceroy of this New Spain, sent to California General Francisco de Alarcon with twelve other high-decked ships, which, however, were all lost.[198]

1597. In 1597 Sebastian Biscaino[199] went at his own expense to California with five religious of the Order of San Francisco.

1602. In 1602 he went a second time at the expense of Philip the Third, with three religious of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, the Count of Monte Rey being viceroy.[200]

1606. In 1606 there came to him a royal *cédula* that he should go to colonize the port of Monte Rey, which, however, his death prevented.[200a]

1615. In 1615 Captain Juan Yturbi went with one ship.

1632-1633. In the years 1632, 1633, and a little later, Captain Francisco de Ortega went to California a first, second, and third time.

1636. About the year 1636 Captain Carboneli went.

[196] The date numerals in this chapter are marginal in the original, and were not reproduced in the translation printed in Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest.*

[197] Jiménez, sent out by Cortés, discovered the Peninsula of California in 1533.

[198] Cortés attempted to found a colony on the Peninsula in 1535; Alarcón's voyage was in 1540.

[199] Vizcaíno.

[200] This was the famous expedition during which Monterey Bay was discovered.

[200a] This is a mistake. Vizcaíno lived several years after 1606.

1642. In 1642 Captain Luis Cestin de Cañas went, taking with him Father Jacinto Cortes, of the Company of Jesus.

1643-1644. In 1643 and 1644 Philip the Fourth sent Admiral Don Pedro Porter Casanate.

1648-1649. In 1648 and 1649 he went a second time, taking with him Father Jasinto Cortes and Father Andres Baes, of the Company of Jesus.

1664-1667. In 1664, at the expense of his royal Majesty, Philip the Fourth, Admiral Don Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero went the first time, and in 1667 he went the second time, with borrowed money.

1668. In 1668 Captain Francisco Lusenilla went to California with two religious of the Order of San Francisco.[201]

CHAPTER II. IN OUR TIME ALSO ARE CONTINUED THE CATHOLIC ROYAL EXPENDITURES FOR THE CONQUEST AND CONVERSION OF THE SOULS OF CALIFORNIA, AND OUR LORD COMPENSATES AND REWARDS THEM

In the years 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, and 1685, at a cost to the royal treasury of more than half a million,[202] by order of Don Carlos the Second, Admiral Don Ysidro de Atondo y Antillon, having built three ships, captain's ship, admiral's ship, and tender, in the Sinaloa River, went with the necessary soldiers and mariners to California; at the same time we three missionary fathers of the Company of Jesus went also, I going with the offices of rector of that mission and cosmographer of his Majesty. In pursuance of that enterprise we were some months at the post and bay of Nuestra

[201] For accounts of the foregoing voyages see Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i, chap. vii-viii, and authorities therein cited; Venegas, *Noticia de la California, passim*; Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, 1-134, and this work, volume i, 217-222.

[202] Only a quarter of a million in fact.

Señora de la Paz, in latitude twenty-four degrees, and more than a year at the Real de San Bruno, in latitude twenty-six degrees, whence we went to the opposite coast and the Sea of the South, about fifty leagues' journey. We left about four hundred souls reduced. And we having come to the harbor of Matanchel, of Nueva Galicia, to supply ourselves with some things which we needed, the Señor viceroy, Don Thomas, Marqués de la Laguna, sent us to meet and warn and rescue the China ship, since at the same time the Pichilingues, pirates, were waiting for the ship in the port of La Navidad in order to rob it. Meeting her within two days, thanks be to the Lord, and putting to sea with her, so that she might neither come to land nor be seen by the enemies who were in the port of La Navidad, we all arrived in safety at the port of Acapulco, leaving the pirates mocked, and our Lord having rescued four or five millions for the royal crown and his loyal vassals, without loss, in reward of the very Catholic expenditures which the royal monarchy makes in honor of His Divine Majesty and for the good of countless souls.[203]

We have also seen and we now see, at this very same time, and in the very years and months of the expenditures for this above mentioned enterprise of California, how God our Lord granted the discovery of the very rich mines of the camps which they call Los Frailes, Los Alamos, and Guadalupe.[204] These posts are opposite, near to, and on the same parallels of twenty-five and twenty-six degrees as California, which through those Catholic expenditures was intended to be con-

[203] For an account of the efforts of Atondo y Antillón in Lower California, see volume i, 37-49.

[204] Los Álamos is on the Rio de Álamos about halfway between the Río Fuerte and the Río Mayo. Guadalupe was on the Río Mayo north of present town of Álamos. The Real de Los Frailes was about ten miles southwest of the present town of Álamos.

quered and is being conquered for our holy Catholic faith.

The very richly laden China ship, or Philippine galleon, having unloaded, most of us went with the admiral from the port of Acapulco to the City of Mexico.[205] There, within a few days, we having conferred in regard to the most suitable means for continuing the conquest and conversion of California, an appropriation of thirty thousand *pesos* was assigned to us; but the same week, when eighty thousand *pesos* had just come from Zacatecas and they were about to give it to us and let us go, a ship came from Spain, which, with a most pressing order, asked five hundred thousand *pesos*, even though it might be borrowed, in order thereby to repay at once the damages done to a richly laden French ship which a few years before had gone to the bottom of the Bay of Cadiz.[205a] Thereupon the conquest and conversion of California were suspended.

CHAPTER III. ON THE OCCASION WHEN THE CONQUEST AND CONVERSION OF CALIFORNIA IS SUSPENDED, ALMOST WITHOUT WISH OR WITHOUT THOUGHT OF IT A BEGINNING IS MADE OF THESE VERY EXTENSIVE NEW CONQUESTS AND NEW CONVERSIONS OF THIS UNKNOWN NORTH AMERICA

As soon as I knew that the conversion of coveted California was suspended, I asked and obtained from my superiors and his Excellency permission to come meanwhile to these heathen coasts nearest to and most in sight of California, to the Guaimas and Seris;[206] and

[205] Here Kino continues his story of his journey to Mexico after they conducted the galleon to Acapulco.

[205a] Compare Dunn, W. E., *Spanish and French rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702*, 41.

[206] He left Mexico, November 20, 1686. This is the most explicit explanation which I have seen of Kino's change of plan.

I having arrived at the end of February, 1687, in this province of Sonora, and gone to Opossura to see the Father Visitor, Manuel Gonzales, his Reverence came with me to this post of heathen Pimas, as the father of Cucurpe, near by, Joseph de Aguilar, was asking of him a father for them. We named the place Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. It is in thirty-two degrees and a half of latitude.[207] We entered March 12,[208] 1687, accompanied by Father Joseph de Aguilar and his servants; and the father visitor returning the following day to observe Holy Week in his pueblos, I went inland two hours after his departure with said Father Joseph de Aguilar and some guides, going ten leagues beyond Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, toward the west, to the good post and valley which we named San Ygnacio, where we found even more people, although they were somewhat scattered. We returned by the north through the ranchería of Himeres, which we named San Joseph, and through that of Doagibubig, which we named Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, which rancherías immediately, thanks be to the Lord, we began reducing to good new pueblos, making a beginning of teaching them the Christian doctrine and prayers, by means of a good interpreter and a good native helper,[209] whom I procured from the old Pima mission of Los Ures,[210] and of the building of the churches and house, of crops, etc.

Afterward I made other missions, or expeditions, to the north and farther to the west, and despatched friendly messages, inviting all the heathen of these environs to receive our holy Catholic faith for their eter-

[207] This indicates that in his journey of 1706 he went a degree and a half south to 31° – i.e. 90 miles.

[208] He elsewhere gives the date as the thirteenth. See volume i, 110.

[209] *Temastián.*

[210] This was quite in keeping with the custom of utilizing civilized Indians from the older mission to aid in subduing new converts.

nal salvation, in imitation of these Pimas, their relatives and countrymen. Soon many came from various parts to see me for this purpose, and we arranged for the beginning of other new missions and pueblos. There came to see and to visit us, with great comfort on our part and his, Father Manuel Gonzales. He asked and obtained, through the Señor alcalde mayor, four additional alms from the royal chest, for four other new missions for this extensive Pimeria; and four other missionary fathers came to it at the time when I dedicated this my first and capacious church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.[211]

CHAPTER IV. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE GOOD BEGINNING IS MADE OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS AND NEW CONVERSIONS IN THIS *TERRA FIRMA* OF THIS NORTH AMERICA, THE CONQUEST AND CONVERSION OF CALIFORNIA BY MEANS OF THE INDEFATIGABLE APOSTOLIC INDUSTRY, LABORS, AND HOLY ZEAL OF FATHER JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA ARE BEGUN AND HAPPILY CONTINUED

1691. Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra having entered in the year 1691 as visitor of these missions of Sinaloa and Sonora, his Reverence came in December[211a] from Chinipas to visit us; and, seeing in his holy visit to these new missions such fertile, abundant, and pleasant lands, valleys, and rivers, he expressed the opinion that they were the richest he had seen in all the missions, to which I replied that it appeared to me also that these lands, so rich, might be the relief and support of the somewhat sterile and poor California, where we had left so many souls scattered and lost, and who were still

[211] The reference is to the coming of Fathers Luis Pineli, Antonio Arias, Pedro de Sandoval and Juan del Castillejo. See volume i, 116.

[211a] This was December, 1690.

asking us for holy baptism; and we planned to make every endeavor to effect the return with all possible haste to continue said conquests and conversions.[212]

1697. His Reverence, with his holy zeal, immediately, even before setting out from these Pima missions, made a very good report to his royal Majesty and his royal ministers; and, although in the beginning there were difficulties and delays, in the year 1697 said Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra, availing himself of the alms which he had secured among faithful, pious persons, obtained a license from the Señor viceroy, Don Joseph Sarmiento de Valladares y Montesuma, permitting his Reverence and me to go to California. For this purpose his Reverence came from Mexico to the missions of Sinaloa and Hyaqui, provided with all that was necessary from Mocorito,[213] in Sinaloa. He informed me of his arrival, and of having accomplished the desired purpose that we two should go to California, sending me the very pleasing letter of the father provincial, Juan de Palacios, in regard to the matter. Thereupon I immediately reported to the father visitor, Horacio Polise, and set out to go to Hyaqui and our best beloved California. But, although I was going most gladly, they detained me over here as being necessary, as the father visitor, Horacio Polise, and the Señor military commander and alcalde mayor of this province of Sonora, Don Domingo Xironsa Petriz de Cruzatt,[214] wrote me by messenger. Father Francisco Maria Picolo went in my place to California, and afterwards made a glorious report of the good state of California,

[212] Father Salvatierra's visit and the journey with Kino in 1691 are related in volume i, 117-121.

[213] Mocorito is located on the Rio Mocorito a few miles east of Casal. Casal is on the Southern Pacific Railway, seventy-five miles north of Culiacán.

[214] Governor of New Mexico from 1683 to 1686.

which, thanks be to our Lord, goes on being so happily conquered and converted that other better pens than mine consider and will consider it worth while to write of its apostolic missions.[215]

CHAPTER V. WHILE THE CONQUEST AND CONVERSION OF CALIFORNIA ARE BEING CARRIED ON AT TWENTY-FIVE, TWENTY-SIX, AND TWENTY-SEVEN DEGREES OF LATITUDE, AND OVER HERE COMMUNICATION WITH IT IS SOUGHT IN THIS OUR LATITUDE OF THIRTY-TWO, THIRTY-THREE, AND MORE DEGREES, I UNDERTAKING FOR THIS PURPOSE THE BUILDING OF A VESSEL, BY MEANS OF THE MANY EXPEDITIONS IN THESE NEW CONVERSIONS A PASSAGE BY LAND TO CALIFORNIA IS DISCOVERED IN LATITUDE THIRTY-FIVE DEGREES[215a]

Remaining, as I did, over here, with the sole relief and comfort of the hope that, availing myself of the licenses which Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra had just brought me from Mexico from the father provincial and from his Excellency, I also might be able from here to find and open a way to the same California and to its reduction, in latitudes thirty, thirty-one, thirty-two, thirty-three, thirty-four, thirty-five or more degrees, for this purpose I made various missions, or expeditions, to the west and to the coast of the Sea of California. I undertook the building of a little vessel, in sections, part here at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and part at La Consepsion de Nuestra Señora de Caborca, which is about fifteen leagues distant from the Sea of California, and from whose coasts flames and smokes in the Californias can be seen. Afterwards, however, I suspended the building of the vessel, since

[215] An account of the work of Salvatierra and Picolo in California is given by Picolo, *ante*, pages 46-67.

[215a] Kino here follows his earlier diaries instead of his final conclusions.

by the divine grace, through different expeditions which I made, to the northwest in particular, I discovered that in latitude thirty-four and one-half degrees the Sea of California ended completely.

In general, in these twenty-one years, up to the present time I have made from the first pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores more than forty expeditions to the north, west, northwest, and southwest, of fifty, eighty, one hundred, two hundred and more leagues, sometimes accompanied by other fathers, but most of the time with only my servants and with the governors, captains, and caciques of different rancherías or incipient pueblos from here and from the interior.

TO THE NORTH AND NORTHEAST. To the north and northeast I have travelled[216] on different occasions more than one hundred and thirty leagues, to Casa Grande, which is a building of the ancients of Montesuma, who set out from these lands when they went to found the City of Mexico, and to the Rio Grande, or Rio de Hila,[217] which issues from the confines of New Mexico through the Apacheria, and comes to these our Pimas Sobaiporis, and afterwards flows more than one hundred leagues to the west by the Cocomaricopas and Yumas, until it unites with the most voluminous Colorado River, which is the true Rio del Norte of the ancients. And I have penetrated to the borders and in plain sight of the Apacheria, which intervenes between this extensive Pimeria and the province of Moqui and Zuñi.

TO THE WEST. To the westward of New Mexico with different fathers, Father Augustin de Campos, Father Marcos Anttonio Kappus, and Father Geronimo Minutuli,[218] I have penetrated the seventy leagues be-

[216] *He encontrado*, i.e., *entrado*.

[217] Gila.

[218] Campos went in 1693, Kapus in 1694, and Minutili in 1706.

tween here and the Sea of California, and far enough to get a very plain view of more than twenty-five leagues of continuous land of California.[219] And now they have their missions well founded: Father Augustin de Campos at San Ignacio, San Joseph de Himires, and Santa Maria Madalena; and Father Geronimo Minutuli at San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, Santa Tereza, and San Antonio del Uquitoa. Besides, there are good beginnings of baptisms, building of churches and houses, cattle, sheep and goats, horses, sowings and harvests of wheat, maize, beans, etc., in the new pueblo of Nuestra Señora de la Conzepzion del Cabotca, at San Antonio de Busanic, and in other parts.

TO THE NORTHWEST. To the northwest I have travelled more than two hundred leagues, to the head of the Sea of California, where enters the very voluminous, populous, and fertile Colorado River, which is the true Rio del Norte of the ancients, and the river which Francis Drake and his followers called Rio del Coral,[220] as he calls the other, the Hila River, which issues through the borders of this Pimeria, Rio de Tizon. It is true that on its banks and in its vicinity it has many firebrands,[221] which the natives in cold weather carry in their hands, warming the pit of the stomach to relieve their nakedness. At eight or nine in the morning, when the sun usually warms up a little, they throw them away, of which I have been an eye-witness. But Drake is very much in error in his fabulous demarkation, in which he very boldly depicts California as an island, saying that its sea extends up to the Sea of the North and the much talked of Strait of Anian, for, in these

[219] See the reference map for list of expeditions.

[220] Father Escobar in his Ms. diary of the Oñate expedition to the gulf tells of hearing of pearls there, but does not mention Rio del Coral.

[221] *Tizones.*

ten years, in fourteen[222] expeditions which I made for this purpose, we have plainly discovered that this Sea of California extends no further than to thirty-four degrees and a half of latitude, where there is plainly a passage to California. By it there continually come to us many of those blue shells which are produced only on the opposite coast of the above mentioned California and South Sea, whereby every year the ship from China is accustomed to come.

On one of these journeys to the northwest Father Adamo Jilg went with me to the Yuma[223] nation, by order of the Father Visitor Horasio Polise; and Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra, who since has been most deservedly father provincial of this Province of New Spain, went to San Marcelo del Sonoydag, and far enough to observe the closing of these their lands at the head of the Sea of California. Father Manuel Gonzales went with me to the very mouth of the large Colorado River; and only a year and a half ago Fray Manuel de la Oyuela,[224] of the Sacred Order of San Francisco, went with me to the very high mountain of Santa Clara which is exactly north of the head of the Sea of California, and from which it is seen most plainly that this sea ascends no higher up, and that California has a continental connection with this mainland of New Spain. Of the truth of this his Reverence, with Alférez Juan Mateo Ramires and Commander Juan Duran, gave me a sworn certificate.[225]

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[222] This number is repeated *post*, page 253.

[223] See the reference map.

[224] Gilg went on the expedition of February-March, 1699; Salvatierra in 1701; González in 1702; Oyuela in 1706.

[225] Reproduced, pages 209-214. The reference is to the diary by Ramirez, reproduced *ante*, pages 197-208.

CHAPTER VI. MORE THAN TWENTY GOVERNORS AND CAPTAINS OF THE INTERIOR COME TO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES TO ASK FATHERS AND HOLY BAPTISM, AND GO FOR THE SAME PURPOSE TO SANTA MARIA DE BASERACA TO SEE THE FATHER VISITOR HORACIO POLIZE, SOME OF THEM TRAVELLING IN GOING AND RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES FOUR HUNDRED LEAGUES

From two other journeys which I made, one to the north and the other to the west, it came about that more than twenty governors and captains of this extensive Pimeria came from fifty, seventy, ninety, and more than one hundred leagues' journey to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to ask of me fathers and holy baptism for all the people of their rancherías. And, I having suggested to them that those fathers must be asked from the father visitor, who was about one hundred leagues from here, they asked me to give them guides to go with them, that they might go there to ask the means of their salvation; so I had to go with them for that purpose as far as Santa Maria de Baseraca, ninety-six leagues beyond, to see the father visitor, Horacio Polise, who, particularly since then, has always been most sympathetic toward and fond of these new conversions.[226] He consoled them as best he could, receiving them with all affection, promising them that he would do his very best to secure for them the necessary missionary fathers desired, and they asked them from Mexico of the father provincial, Juan de Palacios. In his new and large church of Santa Maria de Baseraca the father visitor catechised and baptized one of the captains, who was named Marcos, after his godfather, the governor of Baseraca, and aided us generously,

[226] This was in 1697. For this journey to Baseraca see volume i, 166-168.

particularly in all the environs of his incipient pueblo of San Ambrosio del Busanic.

The father visitor, Horacio Polise, in thanksgiving for the pleasure which he felt at the coming of so many new people, although it was in October, chanted a solemn mass to the three holy kings, who were the first to see and recognize and adore the Redeemer of the world—*Primitiæ Gentium*;[227] for some of them came more than two hundred leagues, and, with as many more which they had to travel in return to their homes, the distance was more than four hundred. His Reverence wrote to the Señor military commander of this province that he also ought to try to inform himself of the good state of this Pima nation, since if it were promoted it would be very advantageous for everything, and especially to restrain the enemies of this province of Sonora, the Hocomes and Apaches. His Lordship therefore sent twenty-two soldiers to Quiburi,[228] whither we went and found Captain Coro, who with his people was dancing over the scalps of some hostile Hocomes whom he had killed a little while before.

[227] "The first fruits of the Gentiles."

[228] In 1697, under Captain Bernal. See volume i, 168-174.

CHAPTER VII. ON ANOTHER MISSION, OR JOURNEY, OF MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY LEAGUES, WHICH I MADE TO THE NORTHEAST, I TOOK WITH ME TWENTY-TWO SOLDIERS, THAT THEY MIGHT BE EYE-WITNESSES TO THE GOOD STATE OF THOSE PIMAS OF THE NORTH AND OF THEIR FERTILE VALLEYS, AND WE FOUND SO MANY AND SUCH RIPE HARVESTS OF SOULS THAT WHEN WE RETURNED FATHER MELCHOR DE BARTIROMO CHANTED A SOLEMN MASS IN THANKSGIVING AT TOAPE TO OUR LADY OF THE CONCEPTION

On this occasion, when I made a mission, or journey, to the neighboring Pimas Sobaiporis, and met the twenty-two soldiers and their captain, Christoval Martin Bernal, since it was said that in the interior there were horses stolen from this province of Sonora, and since I knew the contrary to be the fact, and that not these Pimas but the Hocomes, Apaches, and Janos were the ones who were committing these depredations, stealing horses from this province and its frontiers, I took them with me, that they might become eye-witnesses to the very friendly and good state of all these Pimas Sobaiporis. Their principal cacique and captain, called Aumaric,[229] had come with his two sons two years before to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to be catechised and baptized, and he was named Francisco; and his elder son was named Francisco Xavier, and the other son Horasio Polise.

We entered together from Santa Ana de Quibori by the valley and river of San Joseph de Terrenate,[230] Captain Coro also accompanying us. We arrived by the same river at the very pleasant valley of the Pimas Sobaipuris, and at the Rio Grande de Hila, the above

[229] Humaric.

[230] The San Pedro.

mentioned Captain Francisco Humari coming more than thirty leagues to meet and receive us, with his two sons, one of whom was governor and the other alcalde of his great ranchería of San Fernando.[231] In no place did we find the least trace of horses stolen from this province of Sonora. Everywhere they received us with various gifts, and with their many viands. By the Hila River we descended more than forty leagues farther to the west, to the Casa Grande and to La Encarnacion del Tusonimo, where we were received, with much joy on his part and on ours, with many crosses and with many arches placed on the roads, by the captain of that great ranchería, who was called Juan de Palasios, for we had given him this name of the actual father provincial at his baptism, he being one of those who two months before had gone to Santa Maria de Baseraca to see Father Visitor Horasio Polise.

Afterward we returned by the extensive valley of the other Pimas Sobaiporis to the west, namely, San Francisco Xavier del Baac of the Rio de Santa Maria;[232] and, coming by San Caietano, San Gabriel de Guebavi, San Luiz de Bacoancos, and Santiago de Cocospera, to this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, we went also to the neighboring pueblos of Cucurpe and Toape, where Father Melchor Bartiromo was found. Hearing that we had found those more than seven thousand Pima Sobaiporis so friendly, and disposed to receive our holy Catholic faith, and without the very least trace of hostilities, or of having stolen horses, and that in almost all places they received us with arches and with crosses placed on the roads, and with their many pro-

[231] According to the diaries of 1697 Victoria was Humari's village.

[232] The Santa Cruz.

visions, and that they had given us more than seventy little ones to baptize, and that we had given more than sixty staffs of office to justices, governors, captains, alcaldes, fiscales, constables, etc., and that the principal captain of these natives, Humaric, had come more than thirty leagues to meet and receive us, said Father Melchor de Bartiromo chanted another solemn mass at Toape to Nuestra Señora de la Consepsion, in thanksgiving for so happy a result and for the great ripeness of that harvest of so many souls.

CHAPTER VIII. IN ANOTHER MISSION OR JOURNEY WHICH THE FATHER VISITOR, ANTTONIO LEAL, AND FATHER FRANCISCO GONSALVO AND I MADE TO THE NORTHWARD, RETURNING BY THE WEST, WE SAW MORE THAN EIGHT THOUSAND OTHER PIMAS; AND THE FATHER VISITOR WITH HIS PATERNAL HOLY ZEAL SECURED FOR US SOME FATHER LABORERS

In all the more than forty journeys or missions which I made into the interior, through the teaching of the Christian doctrine and the love and fear of God, in order that the poor natives may arrive at eternal good fortune and escape from the eternal fires, and through the charitable, paternal, and good treatment which according to our holy institute we have attempted to give these poor Indians, they have always given me many little ones to baptize. In the first journey or mission, which, coming from the Rio Grande, from the north to the south, I made to these coasts of the Sea of California,[233] where they never had seen any white face or Spanish person in the eighty leagues of coast which I travelled,[234] more than five thousand Indians being sub-

[233] That of 1698.

[234] This is a very good indication that it was commonly understood that Kino was the pioneer in that region. The reference is to the journey of 1698.

dued, four hundred and thirty-five infants were presented to me to baptize in the great ranchería alone which we named San Fransisco.[235] On the fourth of October, after mass, they gave me one hundred and two little ones to baptize; and in the afternoon, at the neighboring ranchería which followed it, and which we named San Serafin, they gave me sixty others.

When, two years afterwards, the father visitor, Anttonio Leal,[236] in his holy and apostolic visit, penetrated with Father Francisco Gonzalvo and me, more than eighty leagues northward and went as far as San Francisco Xavier del Baac of the Sobaiporis, and as far as San Agustin,[237] and returned by the westward, he arrived at San Serafin and San Fransisco, solemnizing several baptisms in different places, greatly consoling and edifying all this extensive Pimeria and its neighboring nations; and at San Serafin and San Fransisco the little ones whom I had previously baptized received his Reverence with tiny crosses in their hands, a great number of which were afterwards collected, some being given to the father visitor and others to me. Those which they gave me I took to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The father visitor, with his paternal holy zeal, was captivated by, and looked always with his very warm love and affection upon, these new conversions and these holy new Pima missions; and having visited this one of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, that of San Ygnacio, and that of San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, he aided us to secure some fathers for the rest.[238]

[235] San Francisco del Adid.

[236] In October-November, 1699. See volume i, 203-210.

[237] San Agustín del Oyaur, north of where Tucson now stands. Across the river and farther south was San Cosme del Tucson.

[238] They came in 1701. They were Fathers Juan de San Martín, Francisco Gonzalvo, Ignacio de Yturmende, and Gaspar de las Barrillas.

CHAPTER IX. IN THE TWENTY-ONE YEARS SINCE THESE NEW CONVERSIONS WERE BEGUN MORE THAN THIRTY THOUSAND SOULS HAVE BEEN REDUCED TO OUR FRIENDSHIP AND TO THE DESIRE OF RECEIVING OUR HOLY CATHOLIC FAITH; AND IF FOR THIS PURPOSE NECESSARY FATHERS BE GIVEN, THERE ARE WELL-FOUNDED HOPES THAT, GOD WILLING, MORE THAN AS MANY OTHERS CAN BE WON

With all these expeditions or missions that have been made to a distance of two hundred leagues in these new heathendoms in these twenty-one years, there have been brought to our friendship and to the desire of receiving our holy Catholic faith, between Pimas, Cocomaricopas, Yumas, Quiquimas, etc., more than thirty thousand souls, there being sixteen thousand of Pimas alone. I have solemnized more than four thousand[239] baptisms, and I could have baptized ten or twelve thousand Indians more if the lack of father laborers had not rendered it impossible for us to catechise them and instruct them in advance. But if our Lord sends, by means of his royal Majesty and of the superiors, the necessary fathers for so great and so ripe a harvest of souls, it will not be difficult, God willing, to achieve the holy baptism of all these souls and of very many others, on the very populous Colorado River, as well as in California Alta, and at thirty-five degrees latitude and thereabouts, for this very great Colorado River has its origin at fifty-two degrees latitude.[240]

And here I answer the question asked of me in the letter of the Father Rector Juan Hurtasum, as to whether some rivers run into the North Sea or all emp-

[239] Ortega and others who follow him say forty thousand, adding a cipher by mistake.

[240] In reality about 43° 20′ N.

ty into the Sea of California, by saying that since this Colorado River, which is the Rio del Norte of the ancients, carries so much water, it must be that it comes from a high and remote land, as is the case with the other large volumed rivers of all the world and terraqueous globe; therefore the other rivers of the land in fifty-two degrees latitude probably have their slope toward the Sea of the North, where Husson [241] wintered. Some more information can be drawn from the maps which I add to this report; and in order not to violate the brevity which I promised herein, I will add only that in regard to the fourteen [242] journeys of two hundred leagues to the northwest, I have written a little treatise of about twenty-five sheets which is entitled "Cosmographical Proof that California is not an Island but a Peninsula," [243] etc.; and that of these new discoveries and new conversions in general, by order of our Father-General, Thirso Gonzales, I am writing another and more extensive treatise, with maps, of which more than one hundred sheets are already written. By suggestion of his Reverence it is entitled "Celestial Favors of Jesus Our Lord, and of Mary Most Holy, and of the most Glorious Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, experienced in the New Conversions of these New Nations of these New Heathendoms of this North America." [244]

[241] Hudson.

[242] Kino here repeats the number fourteen given in this connection on page 245.

[243] *Manifesto Cosmografico de que la California no es Ysla sino Peninsula.*

[244] From this it is seen that Part v was not at first intended as a part of the *Favores Celestiales.*

BOOK III. OF THE VERY GREAT ADVANTAGE TO BOTH MAJESTIES WHICH CAN BE OBTAINED BY THE PROMOTION OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS AND CONVERSIONS, ON ACCOUNT OF THE MANY GREAT BENEFITS AND UTILITIES WHICH THEY PROMISE

CHAPTER I. THAT THESE NEW CONVERSIONS, THEIR NEW MISSIONS BEING PROMOTED, WILL BE ABLE TO SERVE AS A VERY GREAT OR TOTAL RELIEF FOR THIS PROVINCE OF SONORA FROM THE ENEMIES WHO FOR SO MANY YEARS HAVE CONTINUALLY INFESTED IT, AND WHO ARE THE HOCOMES, JANOS, AND APACHES, FOR THESE OUR PIMAS WITH THEIR CAPTAIN CORO, AND EVEN WITHOUT HIM, ARE ACCUSTOMED FREQUENTLY TO GIVE THEM GOOD BLOWS

For many years this province of Sonora has suffered very greatly from its avowed enemies, the Hocomes, Janos, and Apaches,[245] through continual thefts of horses and cattle, and murders of Christian Indians and Spaniards, etc., depredations which in many years not even the two expensive presidios, that of Janos[246] and that of this province of Sonora, have been able to check completely, for still these enemies continue to infest, as always, all this province of Sonora, with their accustomed murders and robberies and their very notorious

[245] Tribes living, in general, northeast of Dolores. See the reference map.

[246] Janos is in northern Chihuahua. The Sonora presidio was that of Santa Rosa Corodéguachi.

and continued hostilities. They have already reached and they now go as far as Acenoquipe,[247] in the Valley of Sonora itself; and as far as Tuape, in the Valley of Opodepe, and as far as San Ygnacio and Santa Maria Magdalena, in this Pimeria.

But, by founding very good missions for them in these new conquests and conversions, particularly in the good eastern valley of the great valley of Santa Ana de Hiburi,[248] where Captain Coro is at present, who already is a Christian and is called Anttonio Leal, a great restraint can be placed upon these enemies, who are accustomed to live in the neighboring sierras of Chiguicagui; and by fortifying for said Captain Coro his great ranchería, for a new pueblo, as shortly, God willing, we shall fortify him for the protection of Santa Maria Baseraca, he will continue better his accustomed expeditions against these enemies; and he will be able to chastise them, as he is accustomed to do, winning very good victories, as always, and even much greater, for the total relief of this province of Sonora, just as when a few years ago[249] he killed at one blow more than two hundred of those enemies, and as four months ago, in the expedition which he made in pursuit of those who were carrying off cattle and horses from the Real de Bacanuche, he killed fifteen adult enemies and carried off ten little prisoners. One of them I have here in my house. Having baptized and catechised them, I named one of them Joan Miguel, which are the names of our Father-General and of the Provincial; the other I named Philipo, in honor of our very Catholic monarch, God save him.

[247] Sinoquipe.

[248] Quiburi, in the San Pedro Valley, Arizona.

[249] In 1698. See volume i, 178-181.

CHAPTER II. THAT PRUDENT PERSONS THINK THAT IN THESE TWO HUNDRED LEAGUES OF NEW CONQUESTS A NEW KINGDOM CAN BE FOUNDED

The promotion of these new conversions will serve also for the advancement, good government, and good administration of the many more missions which can be founded farther on, for there are prudent and weighty persons, zealous for the service of the Majesties, who are of the opinion that in these more than two hundred leagues of new rich lands, inhabited by Indians industrious and newly conquered and reduced, a new kingdom can with ease be founded, which might be called New Navarre, as others are called New Viscaia, New Galisia, New Kingdom of Leon, etc.

CHAPTER III. THAT, GOD WILLING, ONE CAN ENTER SHORTLY TO THE NORTH AND NORTHEAST TO THE REDUCTION OF THE NEIGHBORING APACHERIA, AND TO THE NORTHWEST UP THE LARGE VOLUMED RIO COLORADO, OR RIO DEL NORTE

By promoting the new conversions of this extensive Pimeria, with the favor of Heaven we shall be able shortly to enter upon the reduction and conversion of the neighboring Apacheria, which lies to the north and northeast of us, and extends northwest to the very large Colorado River, or Rio del Norte, above the thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, and thirty-seventh degrees of latitude, and beyond, for we know that it flows from northeast to southwest and issues about ten leagues west of the province of Moqui;[250] for, we having sent messages to those natives up the Colorado River, already they invite us to enter to see them, and already they give us certain reports that soon, in imitation of the rest over

[250] The Hopi, of northeastern Arizona.

here, they will be won to our friendship and to the desire of receiving our holy Catholic faith.

CHAPTER IV. THAT WE SHALL BE ABLE TO ENTER TO TRADE WITH THE PEOPLE OF MOQUI AND ZUÑI, AND OF NEW MEXICO, WHICH ARE ALSO IN THIRTY-SIX AND THIRTY-SEVEN DEGREES OF LATITUDE, FOR WE HAVE REACHED THEIR VICINITY IN THIRTY-FOUR DEGREES LATITUDE AND MORE

By way of the same Apacheria, which is in thirty-two degrees latitude, we shall be able, with the divine grace, to enter to trade with New Mexico and with its nearest provinces, Moqui and Zuñi, for on an average it is not more than forty or fifty leagues, which is the distance at thirty-four degrees latitude, where live our already well-subdued and domestic Pimas Sobaiporis of San Fernando,[250a] the most remote, at the junction of the rivers Hila and San Joseph de Terrenate, or de Quiburi; at latitude thirty-six degrees, where are situated the provinces of Moqui and Zuñi; and as far as thirty-seven degrees, in which is found the Villa of Santa Fe of New Mexico; for we have also certain reports that before the revolt of New Mexico the Spaniards of those provinces used to come by way of the Apacheria to these our most remote Pimas Sobaiporis to barter hatchets, cloth, sackcloth, blankets, *chomites*,[251] knives, etc., for maize.[252]

[250a] In 1697 the last village on the San Pedro was Victoria, some distance from the junction. See page 249, *footnote* 231.

[251] *Chomite*, a kind of skirt.

[252] This is evidence of trade in the seventeenth century between New Mexico and Arizona.

CHAPTER V. THAT A WAY CAN BE OPENED EVEN TO OTHER MORE DISTANT EXPEDITIONS AND CONQUESTS, AS TO THE NORTHWARD, TO GRAN TEGUAYO, TO THE NORTHWEST, TO GRAN QUIVIRA, TO THE WEST, TO CALIFORNIA ALTA AND PUERTO DE MONTERREY, CAPE MENDOSINO, ETC.

With the promotion of these new conversions not only will the Christian settlements already formed, new and old, have more protection, and be defended by them, as has been suggested, but at the same time a way will be opened to many other new conquests, and new conversions, in many other more remote new lands and nations of this still somewhat unknown North America; as for example, to the northward, to Gran Teguayo; to the northwest, to Gran Quibira; and to the west, to California Alta, of this our same latitude of thirty-four, thirty-five, thirty-six degrees, and farther, and to its opposite coast and the South Sea; and to its great Bay of the Eleven Thousand Virgins;[253] to the famous port of Monte Rey, which is in neighboring and fertile lands (and a royal *cédula* came to Sebastian Biscaino that he should go to colonize it), and to the very renowned Cape Mendozino.

CHAPTER VI. THAT IN TIME WE SHALL BE ABLE TO TRADE WITH NEW FRANCE AND OPEN A WAY TO EUROPE SHORTER BY HALF THAN THAT WHICH WE TRAVEL *VIA* VERA CRUZ

At the same time, after having entered to Moqui and New Mexico, to the northwest and the east, it will be possible to have communication with New France, and with the new conquests, conversions, and missions which

[253] Port San Quentin. See Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 73-76, 453.

at present they are making with their glorious and apostolic journeys from east to west. And if we enter to the north and northeast, and afterwards turn to the east, it will be possible to open a way to Europe from these new conquests and conversions of this North America where we are, only half as long as the road which we now have and are accustomed to travel, by way of the City of Mexico and the Port of Vera Cruz; for if the one road is much more than two thousand leagues, the other will be little more than a thousand.[254]

CHAPTER VII. THAT TO THE WESTWARD BY CONTINUOUS LANDS, BY THE LAND OF IESSO,[255] BY THE LAND WHICH THEY CALL TIERRA DE LA COMPAÑIA, AND BY THE STRAIT OF ANIAN, IN TIME ONE WILL BE ABLE TO PASS FROM THIS AMERICA TO ASIA AND TO GREAT TARTARY AND TO GREAT CHINA

Just as to the northeast and east of this North America we shall be able to have a shorter road to Europe, in the same way we shall be able to have by the northwest and the west a convenient land route to Asia, and to Great Tartary, and to Great China, since to the westward of Cape Mendosino and connected therewith follows the land of Jesso;[256] afterwards come the lands which they call Tierra de la Compañia[257] (may our Lord grant that some day it may be of the Company of Jesus and converted to our holy Catholic faith) and the land nearest to Japan; and afterward the narrow Strait of Anian, which is no more than ten or twelve leagues across, and has the convenience of an island in the mid-

[254] The opening of a northeastern route to Europe by way of the northern interior had been contemplated since the sixteenth century.

[255] See volume i, 360, *footnote*.

[256] See *ibid.*

[257] See *ibid.*

dle of which to pass to Great Tartary, and from there to Great China. For lately the very learned author of the very curious new *Geographic Mirror*,[358] Don Pedro de Mendosa, knight of the Order of Calatrabe,[359] notes that a few years ago Father Grimaldi, of our Company, having gone from Great China to Great Tartary, near those places and countries, learned that the sea, where I know that the Strait of Anian enters, was no farther distant than forty days' journey. And it is patent that there is no other Strait of Anian than this which I here mention, for although Drake, in order to carry his point that California was an island, would feign another Strait of Anian with another much-talked-of Sea of the North over here above California, and that he had turned back from his navigation, yet it is all false.

CHAPTER VIII. THAT ONE CAN PASS TO THE OPPOSITE COAST OF CALIFORNIA TO ESTABLISH A PORT OF CALL FOR THE SHIP FROM CHINA, AND SUCCOR THE MANY PERSONS SICK OF SCURVY WHICH IT IS ACCUSTOMED TO BRING; AND THE INHABITANTS OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS, IN ALL THE KINGDOM OF NEW VISCAIA, ETC., WILL BE ABLE TO TRADE WITH IT

Another great advantage of much value to both Majesties will be that these new conversions and this province of Sonora and all the kingdom of Nueva Biscaia, by way of the Rio Grande, or Hila, which is that of El Tison, and by the land route to California, will be able to provide a port of call to the China ship,[360] and trade with her, and succor with fresh food persons sick with

[358] Hurtado de Mendoza (Pedro), *Espejo Geographico. Segunda y tercera parte, contiene la descripción del Globo Terrayneo* (Madrid, 1691).

[359] Calatrava.

[360] The Manila galleon.

the very painful disease of scurvy which she is accustomed to bring with her, originating from their salt, dry, and stale food, and all with very great advantages and gains for all, obviating the very long and costly transportation of many of their goods from these latitudes above thirty degrees to the port of Acapulco and from Acapulco to Mexico, and to these provinces of Nueva Biscaya, etc. And this port of call, with all due deference to the navigators of the China ship, it appears, might be at the Bay of Todos Santos, or at the famous neighboring port of San Diego of the opposite coast, which are at about the same latitude (though a little below) as the passage by land to California, that is, at thirty-five degrees.

CHAPTER IX. THAT WE SHALL HAPPILY COMPLY WITH THAT WHICH IN SO CATHOLIC A MANNER SO MANY ROYAL *CÉDULAS* CHARGE US WITH, NAMELY, THAT IN A MATTER SO VERY ESSENTIAL WE MUST REPORT THESE HEATHENDOMS THAT LIVE IN SUCH HELPLESSNESS, IN ORDER TO REDUCE THEM AND CONVERT THEM TO OUR HOLY CATHOLIC FAITH, THUS TRANSFERRING THE BURDEN FROM THEIR CONSCIENCES TO THOSE OF US WHO LIVE NEARER TO THEM

There are royal *cédulas* and royal provisions which charge us to report the new heathendoms, and happily we shall comply with them if we try to secure, as is so just, the promotion of these new conversions.

JULY 17, 1701. The new royal *cédula* of our very Christian, very Catholic monarch, Philip the Fifth, God save him many happy years, of July 17, 1701, orders that report be made to him not only of the state of the new conversions of California, which already has been very well executed in the minute printed report

by Father Francisco Maria Picolo, but "also of the location and state of the uncivilized heathen Indians of this province of Sonora, etc."

And the royal *cédula* of his immediate predecessor, Don Carlos the Second, God rest his soul, charges the same, as given me by the royal Audiencia of Guadalaxara, inserted in my royal provision, when twenty-one years ago I came from California and from Mexico to these new conversions of this extensive Pimeria.

MAY 4, 1686. It is dated at Buen Retiro, May 4, 1686. With this royal *cédula* his royal Majesty relieves his conscience, and that of the royal council, by burdening the consciences of those of us who live over here near and bordering upon these heathen nations, in order to seek the means for the eternal salvation of so many souls in this North America who live in such helplessness and even neglect, as the royal *cédula* expresses it, as hitherto has been unknown, in a matter so very essential, and by commanding that all the time possible be gained for him therein without sparing expense, since it is plainly recognized that our Lord always repays well known and very much augmented increase to the royal crown. All these are words from the royal *cédula*.[361]

CHAPTER X. THAT THE ROYAL EMPIRE OF THE CATHOLIC MONARCH AND OF OUR HOLY MOTHER, THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, SHALL BE HAPPILY EXTENDED

It is plain, moreover, that by the Catholic promotion of these new conquests and conversions, or the new kingdoms of this New Navarre, the Catholic empire of the Catholic royal crown and of our holy mother, the

[361] See volume i, 109. The date is given there as May 14, 1686. Kino does not quote exactly here but in substance only.

Roman Catholic Church, is happily extended, so that happily all the world may be one fold with one shepherd (*utt fiat unum ovile et vnus Pastor*), and this, by the divine grace, without great expenditure from the royal chests, and with only the accustomed alms for the missionary fathers, because the natives are so subdued and so domestic that they themselves, even without the expense of sustaining soldiers, are able to inflict and do inflict very exemplary punishment for whatever evil, crime, theft, adultery, or murder which may or is accustomed to happen.

CHAPTER XI. THAT FOR THE PROMOTION OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS AND NEW CONVERSIONS WE HOPE TO SECURE FROM HIS HOLINESS SOME FAVORABLE INDULGENCES AND FROM HIS ROYAL CATHOLIC MAJESTY SOME PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES, ETC.

At the same time we hope, God willing, that by means of our superiors over here in Mexico, and those in Madrid and Rome, we shall bring it about that his Holiness will grant to all the benefactors and promoters of these new conquests and new conversions some very favorable indulgences, and fullest spiritual favors of a jubilee[262] in life and for the hour of death; and that also his royal Majesty, God save him many years, will be pleased to honor the benefactors and promoters with immunities, privileges, and exemptions, from his royal magnificence and magnanimous liberality. And perhaps of these benefactors there may be formed a pious congregation of Mary Most Holy and of the Twelve Disciples, as it is said there is one in Peru.

[262] *Jubileos plenísimos.*

CHAPTER XII. THAT WE SHALL BE ABLE TO MAKE CORRECT MAPS OF THIS UNKNOWN NORTH AMERICA, AND WITH CERTAIN INFORMATION EMERGE FROM THE ERRORS IN WHICH THOSE PLACE US WHO FEIGN A CROWNED KING WHO IS CARRIED IN GOLDEN CHAIRS, AND LAKES OF QUICKSILVER AND OF GOLD, WALLED CITIES, ETC.

If we continue with the promotion and advancement of these new conversions, we shall be able to continue to make correct maps of this North America, the greater part of which has hitherto been unknown, or practically unknown, for some ancients blot the map with so many and such errors and with such unreal grandeurs and feigned riches as a crowned king whom they carry in chairs of gold, with walled cities, and lakes of quicksilver and gold, or amber, and of corals. With reason Father Mariana[268] rebukes them for deceiving us with these riches that do not exist. They do not say a word about the principal riches that exist there, which are the innumerable souls ransomed by the most precious blood of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, and these accompanied by the very abundant conveniences and temporal means, utilities, facilities, and opportunities which immediately and without any fiction I shall mention in this fourth part of this report.

[268] See volume i, 359.

BOOK IV. OF THE MANY TEMPORAL MEANS, FACILITIES, AND OPPORTUNITIES WHICH OUR LORD OFFERS AND GIVES IN THESE NEW CONVERSIONS FOR SECURING THIS GREAT ADVANTAGE FOR BOTH MAJESTIES

CHAPTER I. THAT IN THESE VERY FERTILE LANDS OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS THERE ARE ALREADY MADE MANY FIELDS OF WHEAT AND MAIZE, AND GOOD GARDENS AND VINEYARDS, AND VERY MANY MORE CAN BE MADE

The greater the means the greater our obligation to seek the salvation of so many souls in the very fertile and pleasant lands and valleys of these new conquests and conversions. There are already very rich and abundant fields, plantings and crops of wheat, maize, frijoles, chick-peas, beans, lentils, bastard chick-peas, etc. There are good gardens, and in them vineyards for wine for masses, with cane-brakes of sweet cane for syrup and *panocha*,[264] and, with the favor of Heaven, before long for sugar. There are many Castilian fruit trees, such as fig-trees, quinces, oranges, pomegranates, peaches, apricots, pear-trees, apples, mulberries, pecans, prickly pears, etc., with all sorts of garden stuff, such as cabbages, melons, watermelons, white cabbage, lettuce, onions, leeks, garlic, anise, pepper, mustard, mint, Castilian roses, white lilies, etc., with very good

[264] *Panocha*, a sort of candy made by boiling cane sap.

timber for all kinds of building, such as pine, ash, cypress, walnut, china-trees, mesquite, alders, poplar, willow, tamarind, etc.

CHAPTER II. THAT WITH THE VERY GOOD PASTURES OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS MANY RANCHES ARE STOCKED WITH CATTLE AND SHEEP AND GOATS, AND WITH HORSES, ETC.

Another temporal means which our Lord gives us for the promotion of these new conquests are the plentiful ranches which are already stocked with cattle, sheep, and goats, many droves of mares, horses, sumpters—mules as well as horses—pack animals necessary for transportation and commerce, with very rich and abundant pastures all the year, to raise very fat sheep, producing much tallow, suet, and soap, which already is made in abundance.

CHAPTER III. THAT THE CLIMATE IS VERY GOOD AND RESEMBLES THE BEST IN EUROPE

The climate of most of these lands and new conquests where the promotion of these new conversions is asked, is very good and pleasant, and somewhat similar to that of Mexico and to the best of Europe, with neither too great heat nor too great cold.

CHAPTER IV. THAT THERE ARE MINERAL LANDS

In these new nations and new lands there are many good veins and mineral lands bearing gold and silver; and in the neighborhood and even in sight of these new missions and new conversions some very good new mining camps of very rich silver ore are now being established.

CHAPTER V. THAT THE NATIVES ARE INDUSTRIOUS INDIANS AND FRIENDLY PEOPLE

The natives of these new conquests and new nations are industrious Indians, who are docile, affable, and very friendly, and at the same time warlike and valiant, able to defend themselves against their enemies and to fight against our adversaries, the enemies of this province of Sonora, for these our Pimas defend themselves very well, better than any other nation whatsoever, against the warlike Apaches, and their allies, the Hocomes, Janos, etc.; and they continually win very good victories over them, even with notable relief to this province of Sonora, taking away from them at times their prisoners and stolen articles.

CHAPTER VI. THAT THESE NATIVES HAVE FOR TRADE AND FRIENDLY COMMERCE THEIR FABRICS, FINELY WROUGHT BASKETS, ANTELOPE SKINS, BUCKSKINS, BEZOAR STONES, ETC.

These natives, particularly those of this extensive Pimeria, have very good fabrics of cotton and of wool; also many nicely made baskets, like hampers, of different sizes, many colored macaw feathers, many deer and buffalo hides, and toward the sea coast much bezoar, and the efficacious *contrayerba*,[265] and in many parts the important medicinal fruit called *jojoba*.[266]

CHAPTER VII. THAT IN THESE COASTS THERE ARE GOOD SALT BEDS, AND GOOD FISHERIES CAN BE ESTABLISHED

On this coast of the Sea of California, or Californian Gulf, of these new conquests, we have very good salt

[265] *Dorstenia contrayerba*, a medicinal plant.

[266] An American fruit "similar to judías [*phaseolus vulgaris*], small and of the color of a chestnut. The inside is white and bitter, but pleasing to the taste. It is used as a digestive" (*Diccionario Salvat*).

beds, of white as well as rock salt; and there are inlets and posts very suitable for fishing for all sorts of very savory fish, shrimps, oysters, etc.

CHAPTER VIII. THAT ALL THE YEAR THE PRINCIPAL NATIVES OF THESE NEW CONQUESTS COME FIFTY, SEVENTY, ONE HUNDRED AND MORE LEAGUES FROM THE INTERIOR TO SEE ME AND TO ASK HOLY BAPTISM AND MISSIONARY FATHERS

All these nations, not only those of this extensive Pimeria, but also those of the neighboring Cocomaricopas, Yumas, Quiquimas, etc., all the year continually come to see me fifty, seventy, one hundred, one hundred and fifty and more leagues from the interior. Others from even more remote parts have sent very friendly messages and gifts, among them blue shells from the opposite coast and South Sea, and they ask me to go to see them and baptize them, and to obtain for them missionary fathers who may go to minister to them.

CHAPTER IX. THAT BESIDES COMING FROM THE INTERIOR THEY SET OUT AND GO TWENTY-FIVE, FIFTY, AND ONE HUNDRED LEAGUES FARTHER OUTSIDE, TO SEE THE FATHER VISITORS AND RECTORS AND ALCALDE MAYORS, AND TO ASK OF THEM MISSIONARY FATHERS

Not only do these natives come so many leagues to this my pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to ask of me the succor of the missionary fathers whom they need, but as I can not give them and do not obtain them for them, many of the governors, captains, and caciques, after having come from the north, northwest, west, etc., fifty, seventy, one hundred, and more leagues, go and have gone many times to see the father visitors and

father rectors and alcalde mayors and their deputies, to the Valley of Sonora, to the Real de San Juan, and to Oposura.[267] Sometimes they have gone to the valley of Santa Maria de Baseraca, which is about one hundred leagues distant from here. Last year[268] during the journey and visit of Father Visitor Francisco Maria Piccolo to the Pimeria, more than thirty governors, captains, alcaldes, fiscals, etc., came from the interior, all on horseback. As his Reverence had just set out from this Pimeria, all went, and I with them to overtake his Reverence as far as Cucurpe, where he promised them that the necessary fathers, for whom they very anxiously prayed, should come to them. Up to the present they have not arrived, perhaps because there has not been in Mexico, as had been written me, means with which to equip them; but at present two pious persons offer to send from here the necessary equipment for two or three fathers. May our Lord bring them!

CHAPTER X. THAT THIS SAME PIMA LANGUAGE WHICH WE SPEAK HERE IS CURRENT MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED LEAGUES FARTHER IN THE INTERIOR, EVEN AMONG THE NATIVES OF DIFFERENT NATIONS

Another of the advantages and means which here facilitate the desired service of both Majesties, is the fact that this Pima language which we speak here extends more than two hundred leagues into the interior, even among the other and distinct nations of the Cocomaricopas, Yumas, and Quiquimas, for in all places are found intermingled some natives who speak both languages, that of the nation where they are and our

[267] San Juan and Oposura are both on the upper waters of the Yaqui River, southeast of Arizpe.

[268] Father Picolo's visit was in May, 1705. See *ante*, pages 135-137.

Pima tongue, and therefore everywhere we have plenty of good interpreters, both men and women, for the reduction and teaching of all, and to explain to them promptly the Christian doctrine and the mysteries of our holy Catholic faith.

CHAPTER XI. THAT THESE NEW NATIONS HAVE NO PARTICULAR SECTS OR IDOLATRIES TO BE ERADICATED

In all these new conquests and new people where we have travelled they have no particular idolatry or doctrine which it will be especially difficult to eradicate, nor polygamy, nor *bonzes* as in Japan and in Great China, and although they greatly venerate the sun as a remarkable thing, with ease one preaches to them, and they comprehend the teaching that God Most High is the All-Powerful and He who created the sun, the moon, and the stars, and all men, and all the world, and all its creatures.

CHAPTER XII. THAT THERE ARE MANY MISSIONS OR NEW PUEBLOS BEGUN, WITH GOOD BEGINNINGS IN THE TEACHING OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND OF PRAYERS, AND IN THE BUILDING OF CHURCHES AND HOUSES, AND OF CROPS, AND OF CATTLE

In these new conversions the natives have, even far in the interior, as in the case of Nuestra Señora de la Consepcion del Caborca, forty-six leagues to the westward, in San Ambrosio del Busanic, thirty-seven leagues to the northwest, and in San Francisco Xavier del Bac, sixty leagues to the north, pueblos or missions begun, with good beginnings of instruction in the Christian doctrine and in prayer.[269] In these places

[269] From this, as from other data, it is inferred that there was now no resident missionary at San Xavier.

there are *temastianes*, or teachers of the doctrine, and many infants and some adults have been baptized. They have their cabildos of justices, governors, captains, alcaldes, fiscales, and their *topiles, alguaciles*, etc.[270] They have good beginnings of houses for the comfortable living of the fathers whom they hope to receive, and of churches, fields of wheat, maize and beans, cattle, sheep and goats, horses and mules, droves of mares and horses, and beginnings of gardens, all of which the very domestic and loyal natives tend, as if the fathers whom they pray and beg for and hope and deserve to receive were already living there.

CHAPTER XIII. THAT THIS MISSION OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES IS ACTUALLY GIVING MORE THAN THREE THOUSAND PESOS IN CATTLE, PROVISIONS, VESTMENTS WITH WHICH TO SAY MASS, AND FURNISHINGS OF A HOUSE FOR THE FOUNDING OF THE NEW MISSION OF SANTA MARIA, AND WILL BE ABLE TO GIVE AS MUCH MORE, AND OTHERS MAY DO THE SAME, FOR OTHER FOUNDATIONS

This first mission, or district, or pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, is actually arranging for delivering a decent equipment for founding the new mission of Santa Maria de Bagota,[271] which is twenty-two leagues from here toward the north, that is, new vestments with which to say mass, three hundred head of cattle for their ranch, one hundred head of sheep and goats, a drove of mares, a drove of horses, a house in which to live, the beginnings of a church, with provisions and the necessary furnishings for a house, and the beginnings of sowing and crops of wheat, maize,

[270] An indication that the pueblo organization prescribed by law had spread well beyond the actually occupied frontier.

[271] Bugota.

etc. Almost as much was given, to the value of three thousand pesos, from the stock of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, a few years ago, for the founding and equipment of the mission of San Ygnacio; and other like aid this and other missions of these new conquests and new conversions will be able to give in time.

CHAPTER XIV. THAT ALREADY DIFFERENT BENEFACTORS, MISSIONARY FATHERS AND SECULARS, OFFER VARIOUS GIFTS OF CATTLE, PROVISIONS, CLOTHING, AND SOME SILVER, WHICH ALL AMOUNTS TO MORE THAN TWENTY THOUSAND PESOS, FOR THE NEW MISSIONS WHICH MAY BE FOUNDED

The promotion of these new conversions and the service of both Majesties which is hoped for in them is greatly facilitated by the fact that different benefactors, missionary fathers of the old missions of the Company of Jesus, as well as secular gentlemen, promise very good aid in the form of cattle, sheep and goats, horses, clothing, fabrics or garments, provisions, and some silver, to aid the new missionary fathers who may come to these new conversions to found new missions, for their churches and houses, the value already amounting to more than twenty thousand pesos. One person alone offers five thousand in suitable goods, with some silver, for the founding and for the church, house, and fortification of the settlement or great mission of Santa Ana de Quibori, where Captain Coro lives; because it is notorious that those his natives will be able to continue to pursue the neighboring avowed enemies, the Hocomes, Janos, and Apaches, for the very great and total relief, or remedy, of all this province of Sonora.

CHAPTER XV. THAT THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SEÑOR BISHOP OF THIS PROVINCE OF THE KINGDOM OF NUEVA VISCAIA AND OF SONORA OFFERS TO SEEK AND OBTAIN ALMS FOR SOME LABORERS IN THESE NEW MISSIONS

Now, in addition, at the very same time that this brief report is asked of me and I am writing it, the Señor commissary curate and vicar of the Real de San Juan, Don Anttonio de Zalasar, writes me that his Illustriousness, the Most Pious Prince of the church, the Señor Doctor Don Ygnacio Dias de la Barrera, most meritorious Bishop of the city of Durango and of all these provinces, has said to his Grace in the city of Guadiana, Durango,[272] within the past few months, that he is possessed of a very Catholic and most zealous and holy determination to seek, although it may be by alms, the necessary aid and equipment for some missionary fathers to live in and administer these new conquests and conversions. These, then, are the opportune means which our Lord offers us to enable us to accomplish a great service for both Majesties and the eternal salvation of very many souls in all this most extensive North America.

[272] Pimería Alta was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Durango at the time.

CHAPTER XVI. EPILOGUE, VERY SUITABLE, AND SO MUCH THE MORE SO BECAUSE UNLOOKED FOR, IN REGARD TO THE ABOVE MENTIONED MEANS, AS WELL AS IN REGARD TO THE SUBJECT MATTER OF ALL THIS REPORT OR RELATION, FOR WHICH PRAYS OUR NEW FATHER-GENERAL, MIGUEL ANGEL TAMBURINI[273] IN THE NEW LETTER WHICH HAS JUST ARRIVED FROM ROME, AT THESE NEW CONVERSIONS

More than three years ago, by order of our father general, Thirso Gonzales, God rest his soul, I sent to Rome a relation of the state of these new conversions, which was altogether very conformable to and uniform with a relation which Father Visitor Orasio Polise had also made, and which Father Rector Juan Maria de Salvatierra had seen, subscribed to, and approved. And now, in the most courteous, holy letter, which, having just written this present report, I have just received from our new father general, Miguel Angel Tamburini, his Reverence writes me, very much to our purpose, the following:

LETTER OF OUR FATHER GENERAL MIGUEL ANGEL Tamburini. I received with special pleasure two letters from your Reverence, dated January 24 and June 30, 1704. With them comes what your Reverence calls a dedication for the treatise which is being perfected with the title of "Celestial Favors Experienced in the New Conquests and New Conversions of North America." In the letters as well as in the draft of the dedication, which contains the notices of the new discoveries and of their state, I find much wherein to praise the mercies of God in those nations which are being discovered and brought to his knowledge; and our Company owes special thanks to His Divine Majesty, because He uses her sons as an instrument so greatly to His glory.

[273] Father Michele Angelo Tamburini was general of the Society of Jesus from 1706 to 1730. See volume i, 92, *footnote* 75.

Very much do I rejoice at the aid which your Reverence has sent and is arranging to send every year to the Californias, and at the two churches which you have built and dedicated, and which have become among the best there are in the province; and that you are continuing your treatise on those missions with the title of *Celestial Favors*, of which you have sent us hither the first part. I am hoping for the other two which your Reverence promises, and that they all may be approved in Mexico, that they may be published. All the notices which your Reverence gives me fill me with joy, and with a desire to repay the anxieties and glorious travails of your Reverence and of your companions; but just as you have opposition there, we here regret that the war, lack of communication, and perils of the seas keep our missionaries detained. But we all hope, with great confidence in the loving providence of God, that, since in these very contrary times He has willed to discover those new nations and to show us so many souls who wander scattered outside of His fold, it is not that we may see them perish, but to give us means and forces to bring them from their forests and reduce them to pueblos and churches. Therefore I pray His Divine Majesty to guard your Reverence many years, as I desire.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

MIGUEL ANGEL TAMBURINI.

Rome, Sept. 5, 1705.

Omnia ad mayorem Dei Deipar[a]eque Virginis Mariæ honorem et gloriam et animarum jentiumque salutem.[274]

[274] "All things for the greater honor and glory of God and of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and for the salvation of souls and of the Gentiles."

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PAREDES, VICEROY CONDE DE. Carta del Conde de Paredes a Su Magestad: El Virrey de la Nueva España da quenta a Vuestra Magestad de la Vltima entrada que hizo en las yslas Californias el Almirante don Ysidro de Atondo: y por lo que de ella resulto ha declarado se mantengan los dos Puertos descubiertos del Rio Grande y Real de San Bruno con dos Religiosos misioneros y veinte soldados con el sueldo y vastimento nezesario para su sustento ynterin que con vista de los autos que remito manda Vuestra Magestad lo que fuere de su mayor agrado. Mexico, Sept. 3, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 4 typewritten pages.

GOÑES (GOÑI) PEDRO MATIAS. To the Archbishop of Guadalajara. Puerto de San Ygnacio, Sinaloa, Sept. 22, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Included in No. 30. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 3 typewritten pages.

KINO, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO. To the Bishop of Guadalajara. Colegio de Guadalaxara, Oct. 10, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Included in No. 30. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 13 typewritten pages.

—— To the Bishop of Guadalajara. Compostela, Nov. 5, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 1 typewritten page.

—— To the Bishop of Guadalajara. Matanchel, November 15, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Included in No. 30. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 6 typewritten pages.

—— To the Bishop of Guadalajara. On board the *Almiranta*, Dec. 2, 1685. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Included in No. 30. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 1 type-written page.

REAL CÉDULA. Madrid, Dec. 22, 1685. Al Virrey de la Nueva España, en respuesta de su carta de 28 de Marzo de este año, sobre la sublevazion de los Yndios de la Nueva Vizcaya. Consultada. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *El Obispo de Guadalajara hace . . . informe.* Transcript in Bancroft Library. 7 pages typed.

Orders that for the present California be not reoccupied on account of troubles in Nueva Vizcaya.

KINO, EUSIBIO FRANCISCO. To the Bishop of Guadalajara. Casa Profesa, Mexico, Feb. 15, 1686. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Included in

No. 30. Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 29 typewritten pages.

ATONDO Y ANTILLÓN, YSIDRO, to the Archbishop of Guadalajara, Mexico, Feb. 16, 1686. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Included in No. 30. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 2 pages.

BISHOP OF GUADALAJARA. No. 30. El Obispo da quenta del estado en que esta la conquista y comvercion de las Yslas Californias despues de hauer buelto las Naos que fueron a hazerla, las quales tienen orden de no volver a continuarla, y pondera la lastima y quebranto que a ocasionado hauer quedado tanta multitud de Almas clamando por el Baptismo y añade en una posdata tenia noticia de Mexico de hauer determinado el Señor Virrey se buelua a la conquista y haga un Presidio. With related correspondence. Guadalajara. March 10, 1686. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 39 pages typed.

REAL CÉDULA addressed to Audiencia de Guadalajara. Buen Retiro, May 14, 1686. Concerning encouragement of conversions. A.G.I. 67-1-36. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 3 pages typed.

AUTO Y OBEDECEMTO. Guadalajara, Sept. 27, 1686. In response to cédula of May 14, 1686. A.G.I. 67-1-36. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 1 page typed.

AZCÁRASSO, FRAY JOSEPH, Provincial of the Province of Santiago de Jalisco, Respuesta to real cédula of May 14, 1686. Guadalajara, Oct. 9, 1686. A.G.I. 67-1-36. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 6 pages typed.

Replies that the province lacks missionaries. Gives general view of Missions in Coahuila and Nayarit.

KINO, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO. "Misionero nombrado para la reduccion de gentiles, y conversion a nuestra Sancta fe de los Seris, Huaymas, y Pimas en la provinzia de Sonora, Reyno de la nueua Vizcaya." Petition asking prohibition of taking Indians with seal to work in mines from his prospective missions. Guadalajara, Dec. 16, 1686. A.G.I. 67-1-36. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 2 pages typed.

AUDIENCIA DE GUADALAJARA. Auto, granting Kino's petition. Guadalajara, Dec. 16, 1686. A.G.I. 67-1-36. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 2 pages typed.

PALMA Y MESA, LIC. DON XPTOUAL DE. Respuesta fiscal, concerning Kino's petition. Guadalajara, Dec. 16, 1686. A.G.I. 67-1-36. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 1 page typed.

AUDIENCIA DE GUADALAJARA. Guadalajara, July 23, 1687. Da quenta de los dilixencias fechas en virtud de la Real Zedula de catorce de Maio de el año proximo passado de ochenta y seis sobre el fomento de las misiones y combersiones nuebas de los indios; e Ynforma a pedimento de la sancta provincia de Xalisco del Seraphico Padre San Francisco sobre diferentes puntos. A.G.I. 67-1-36. With *testimonio de diligencias.* Transcript in Bancroft Library. 23 pages typed.

VICEROY JOSEPH SARMIENTO. El Virey Don Joseph Sarmiento Da quenta de la entrada que ha hecho a las Islas Californias el Padre Juan Maria de Salbatierra de la Compañia de Jesus, los buenos efectos que van resultando y lo que propone sobre la continuacion de esta conquista y sera bien se lea esta carta, Mexico, May 5, 1698. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 4 pages typed.

EXPEDIENTE concerning Carrasco's expedition to the Gila River with Kino in 1698. May, 1698-Oct. 1699. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 33 pages typed.

XIRONZA PETRIZ DE CRUZATTE, DOMINGO. Letter to the Viceroy, San Juan Baptista, Sonora, May 16, 1698. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *Expediente concerning Carrasco's Expedition.*

—— Instructions to Captain Diego Carrasco. San Juan Baptista, Sonora, Sept. 15, 1698. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *Expediente concerning Carrasco's expedition.*

KINO, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO. Relasion Diaria de la entrada al Nortueste que fue de Yda y Buelta mas de 300 leguas desde 21 de setiembre hasta 18 de otubre de 1698: Descubrimiento del desemboque del rio grande hala Mar de la California y del Puerto de Sa. Clara. Reduction de mas de 4000 almas de la Costa Bautismos de mas de 400 Parbulos, 1698. Con Enseñanzas y Experienzias [Annotation]: "Esta relacion es del Pe. Franco. Eusebio Kino de que doy fee. Gaspar Stiger. Av. de estas misiones." A.G.M. Historia, vol. 393. Transcript from original in Bolton Collection. 38 pages typed.

CARRASCO, CAPTAIN DIEGO. Diario fecho por el Capitan Diego Carrazco Theniente de Alcalde Mayor y Capitan a Guerra de todos los Pueblos y Rancherías de la Nacion Pima y sus distritos y Jurisdicion por Su Magestad que en virtud de orden que va yncerta del General Don Domingo Gironza Petriz de Cruzat,

Alcalde mayor desta prouincia y Gouernacion de las armas de ella por su Magestad, me puse a hazer desde el dia veinte y dos de septiembre hasta el dia diez y ocho de octubre de el año de mill seiscientos y noventa y ocho para el descubrimiento del desemboque del Rio grande a la Mar de la California y puerto de Santa Clara con todo lo acaecido en dicho viaje que su thenor es como se sigue. Sept. 22-Oct. 18, 1698. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 19 pages typed. In *Expediente concerning Carrasco's expedition.*

—— Carta del señor Theniente de la Pimeria Diego Carrasco al Señor General Don Domingo Gironza Petriz de Cruzat de la entrada al Norueste mill seiscientos y Noventa ocho. Dolores, Oct. 18, 1698. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *Expediente concerning Carrasco's expedition.*

Xironza Petriz de Cruzatte, Domingo. Letter to Viceroy. Reporting Carrasco's expedition. San Juan Baptista, Sonora, March 8, 1699. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *Expediente concerning Carrasco's expedition.*

Testimonio de los Autos hechos sobre el descubrimiento, conquista y reduccion de las Californias en que esta entendiendo el Padre Juan Maria de Salvatierra a costa de la limosna de los fieles. Mexico, May 29, 1699. A.G.I. 67-3-28. 18 pages typed.

Contains letters of Palacios, decrees regarding funds, letters of Salvatierra, Ugarte, etc.

Viceroy Joseph Sarmiento. El Virrey Don Joseph Sarmiento. Remite el testimonio adjunto de los felizes progresos que van resultando, y que ha conseguido con sus asistenzias en las Yslas de Californias el Padre Juan Maria de Salbatierra de la compañia de Jesus y lo que por su parte le ha favorecido para esta conquista. Mexico, May 29, 1699, with action of Council. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. In all 20 pages typed.

Solís Miranda, Martín de. Opinion relative to viceroy's letter of May 5, 1698 regarding California missions. Madrid, June 14, 1699. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 8 pages typed.

Tobar, Lic. Don Balthazar de. Respuesta fiscal, concerning Carrasco's expedition. Mexico, Oct. 16, 1699. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *Expediente concerning Carrasco's expedition.*

Viceroy Joseph Sarmiento. No. 1. El Virrey de la Nueva España pone en la Real noticia de Vuestra Magestad haverse con-

tinuado subcesibos los favorables avisos de los progresos y buenos efectos de la reduzion de gentiles en las Yslas Californias en el servicio de Dios y Agrado de Vuestra Magestad y que sera propio de su Real piedad, se asista a los religiosos con alguna ayuda de costa de Real Hazienda en la forma que propone. Mexico, Oct. 20, 1699. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 4 pages typed.

ROLÁNDEGUI, BERNARDO. Memorial to the King concerning California. No date. Considered in Council May 29, 1701. Acordado, July 4, 1701. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 4 pages typed.

COUNCIL OF THE INDIES. Acuerdo de Consulta. Concerning California Pious Fund. Madrid, July 4, 1701. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 3 pages typed.

CONSEJO DE YNDIAS a 9 de Jullio de 1701. Representa a V. Mgd. lo que ha pasado en la conquista, poblazion y reduzion de las Californias desde su principio: providenzias que combendra se den para acalorar a los Religosos de la Compañia que se han encargado de esta empresa y la tienen muy adelantada. Madrid, July 9, 1701. A.G. de I. 67-1-37. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 11 pages typed.

BISHOP-ELECT OF MICHOACÁN. El Obispo Electo de Valladolid de Michoacan informa a Vuestra Magestad, los incombenientes que tendra que la Relegion de la Compania de Jesus deje las Misiones que administran en el Obispado de la Nueva Viscapa, y suplica se lea todo. Valladolid de Michaocán, July 17, 1701. A.G.I. 67-3-28. In *El Obispo de Guadalajara hace informe.* Transcript in Bancroft Library. 6 pages typed.

REAL CÉDULA. Madrid, July 17, 1701. To Bishop of Guadalajara, granting 6,000 pesos a year to the California Missions. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 3 pages typed.

RIEZA, FRANCISCO DOMINGUEZ, Mayor of the Audiencia Real of Nueva Galicia. Certificate asking for report on California. Guadalajara, Dec. 2, 1701. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 3 pages typed.

ROLÁNDEGUI, BERNARDO. Memorial to the King concerning California, in 5 points. After July 17, 1701. Answered 6 Dec., 1701. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 3 pages typed.

KINO, EUSEBIO FRANCISCO. Paso por Tierra a la California y sus confinantes nuevas Naciones, y Misiones Nuevas de la Compañia

de J.H.S. en la America Septêntrional Descubierto, andado, y demarcado por el Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino Jesuita, desde el año 1698, hasta el de 1701. Año de 1701.

Ms. map in the Archivo General de Indias, 67-3-29 (Torres-Lanzas, no. 95). Clearly a draft of a much later date. Reproduced here volume I, page 331. Sommervogel (*Bibliothèque*, vol. iv, 1044-1045) lists a copy of Kino's original map in the École de Ste. Geneviève, Paris.

EXPEDIENTE concerning the Pious Fund of California, 1701-1704. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 212 pages typed.

PICOLO, FRANCISCO MARIA. Informe de Francisco Maria Picolo á S.M. Guadalajara, Feb. 10, 1702. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 20 pages typed.

ESPINOSA, DOCTOR JOSEPH ANTONIO DE. El fiscal Doctor Espinoa á S.M. Acompaña copia de un informe: El Fiscal Doctor Espinosa representa a Vuestra Magestad el estado de las Misiones nuebamente introducidas en la California por los Jesuitas, y lo determinado en cumplimiento de la Real cédula de Vuestra Magestad de diez y siete de Julio del año passado, que pide se lea a la letra. Mexico, May 16, 1702. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 9 pages typed.

COUNCIL OF THE INDIES. Acuerdo, Madrid, June 2, 1703. Replying to the four points of one of the memorials of Father Rolándegui. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 4 pages typed.

ESPINOSA, DR. JOSEPH ANTONIO DE. Dictamen fiscal. Mexico, Apr. 18, 1704. Concerning fulfillment of the cédula of 28 Sept. 1703, regarding California missions. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 4 pages typed. Transmitted Oct. 9, 1704.

VICEROY OF MEXICO, DUQUE DE ALBURQUERQUE. No. 46. Carta del Duque de Alburquerque á Su Magestad. El Virrey de Nueva España da quenta a Vuestra Magestad de quedar esperando al Padre Juan Maria de Salvatierra misionero de las Californias para conferencias con el sobre la practica de los puntos que yncluye la orden de Vuestra Magestad de 28 de septiembre de 1703 sobre su conquista y reduccion y demas que se expresa en ella de cuya resulto ofrece dar quenta en primera ocasion Y remite testimonio de todo lo actuado en esta materia. Mexico, Sept. 24, 1704. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 5 pages typed.

CAVALLERO Y OZÍO, JUAN. Don Juan Cavallero y Ozio Avisa el

recivo de Vna cedula de 28 de Settiembre de 1703 en que se le manifiesta la gratitud de Su Magestad por haver dotado 20,000 pesos, etc. Querétaro, Oct. 8, 1704. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 2 pages typed.

ESPINOSA, DR. JOSEPH ANTONIO DE. El fiscal Don Joseph Antonio de Espinosa acompaña copia de la respuesta fiscal que dio en razon de lo ejecutado en virtud de zedula de 28 de Septiembre de 1703 sobre que pidiese cumplimiento de las providencias de las Misiones de las Californias de qual combendra se lea a la letra para su comprehencion. With dictamen of April 18, 1704. Mexico, Oct. 9, 1704. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 7 pages typed.

VICEROY OF MEXICO, DUQUE DE ALBURQUERQUE. Carta del Duque de Alburquerque a S.M. El Virrey de Nueva España da quenta a V.M. con testimonio de lo resuelto en Junta general en orden a no inovar en las dependencias de Californias hasta que V.M. en vista de los autos que remite con carta de 23 de Marzo determine lo que fuere servido. With *Dictamen fiscal*, Apr. 16, 1708. Mexico, Oct. 7, 1706. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library. 5 pages typed.

VELARDE, LUIS. Descripción de la Pimería. Contained in the item next below, of which it constitutes chapter 9.

MANGE, JUAN MATHEO. Lybro Segvndo Luz de Tierra Yncognita en la America Septentriorial de todos los Viajes de tierras Rios y Naciones que Descubrieron Varios Padres de la Compa. de Jesus con el Capn. Juan Matheo Mange Autor de la Presente obra; y Anuales Muertes Rovos, e Yncendios q los Yndios enemigos executaron en la Prova. de Sonora, Castigos q se les hizo en los 7 primeros años q Govno. el Genl. D Domingo Jironza la Compa. Volante q doto su Magd. pa. su defensa desde fines del Año de 1693 hasta el de 1721. Original in Archivo General, Mexico. Historia, vol. 392. Covers 1694-1721. Transcript in Bolton Collection, 175 pages typed.

My references to this work are to the Ms. copy in the Bolton Collection.

SOBRE PERTENENCIA del Govierno Espiritual de Californias. Vino con carta del Cavildo Eclesiástico de Guadalaxara de 18 de marzo de 1724. Covers 1634-1724. A.G.I. 67-4-2.

Transcript in the Bancroft Library. 112 pages typed.

Contains transcripts of documents to show that California was within the diocese of Guadalajara. Begins with "Titulo al Padre Diego de

Nava Clérigo, de Cura de los descubrimientos de las islas Marias y Californias, y de Vicario Juez Eclesiástico." Controversy between bishops of Guadalajara and Durango over this matter, 1681; incidentally, documents concerning the Piñadero, Atondo, and other expeditions to California; Commission to Kino and his companions as *Cura* and *juez-vicario* of California.

BISHOP OF GUADALAJARA. El Obispo de Guadalajara hace a Vuestra Magestad el informe que por Vna Real Cédula se le manda sobre la pertenencia del govierno espiritual de las Islas Californias. Guadalaxara, June 1, 1727. With docs. covering the period 1685-1727. A.G.I. 67-3-28. Transcript in Bancroft Library, 16 pages typed.

FIGUEROA, FRANCISCO, compiler. Memorias para la Historia de Nueva España (compiled in Mexico, 1792), 32 vols.

A nearly complete copy is in the Bancroft Library.

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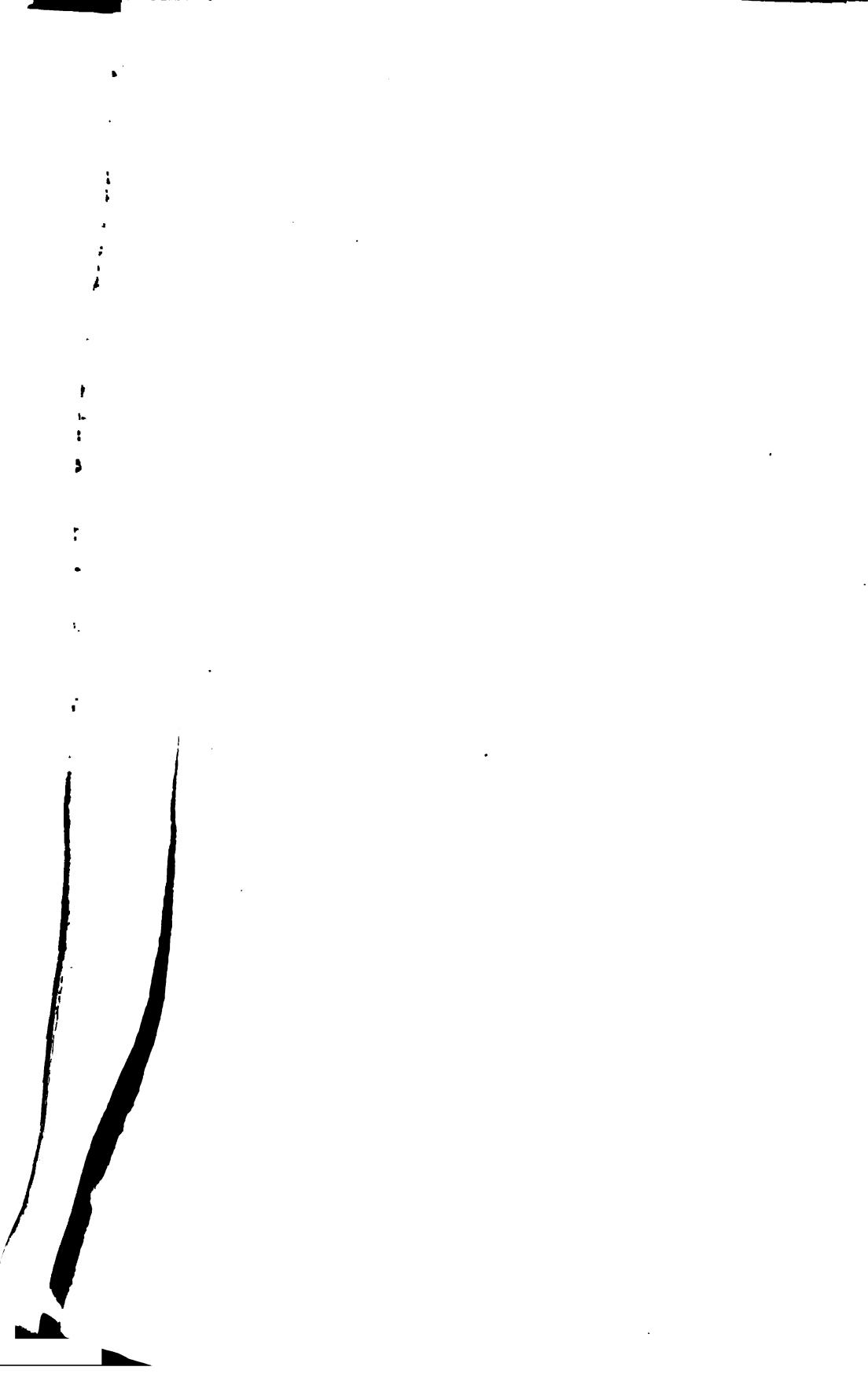

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